On nights when there is little or no moonlight, the evening 562 gatherings in the village sometimes, although not always, follow 517 the sex division, with the men and boys in the *onjango*, and the women and girls at one or more of the kitchens. Discussion of affairs, with youth listening to age, is the usual order, but the time is often passed in the recital of folk-tales or in propounding riddles.

Riddles are more especially a field of youth but age also enjoys 524 hearing the answers given. A favourite occupation of the men, 171 especially by day, is *ocela*, a game known all over Africa and in other parts of the world as well.[1] Junod calls it 'the national game of Africa'.[2]

The Ovimbundu have brought recreation to the service of their 461 work. Europeans are often irritated by the amount of conversation which Ovimbundu carry on during working hours, but on consideration it may be found that were it not for the conversation and other psychological aids, the work might be quite unendurable. This is especially the case with regard to road work and many types of contract labour. Road songs and work songs are of real [533] help in keeping up morale and in prolonging endurance. Most of them seem to have been developed in the days of the caravan trade, but they have not been forgotten and are now used on many occasions.

A word about ceremonial occasions before leaving the social 764 life of the village. Some rites and ceremonies are celebrated so quietly that they are not even social occasions. Most of them, however, are very social. This is especially true of funerals and post-mortuary rites. During visits to Ngendo I was able to witness two post-mortuary rites and the funeral of an important person of a near-by village. Other ceremonial occasions, such as weddings [585] and a return from a trading expedition, also call for much sociability, but funerals and post-mortuary rites are the social occasions which occupy the most time and attention and make for the greatest conviviality.

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[1] Known under the name *Mancala*, which is evidently a Bantu word, or taken from one; cf. the Umbundu *oku mangala*, to play. Hambly mentions *ocela*, op. cit., p. 219. See also Nevinson, op. cit., p. 91. The *New Standard Dictionary* (Funk and Wagnalls) attributes to Arabian origin both the game and the word *Mankalah*.

[2] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 345 f.

Kinship groupings: *oluse* and *oluina.*[1] Every Ocimbundu 613 belongs to an *oluse*, i.e. his father's kin, and to an *oluina*, i.e. his mother's kin. Each of these family groupings is divided into male and female lines (*onĕlĕ yohonji*, 'the side of the bow'; *onĕlĕ yohumba*, 'the side of the basket'). Uterine brothers and sisters belong to the same *oluse* and *oluina*, and to the male or female 'side' respectively, according to sex. It is of great importance to get a clear idea of this bilateral nature of these kinship groupings. Every student of [171] ethnology will note the similarity of this division to the Herero [197] *oruzo* and *eanda.*[2] Considering the affinities between the Herero and Umbundu languages, I think that these conceptions are probably related. Further study of other peoples of this Western Bantu zone may reveal cultural and racial as well as linguistic affinities.[3] The *oluse* and *oluina* of the Ovimbundu follow their own pattern.

The *oluse* consists of a large number of local village groups, 613 some of which recognize mutual relationships, but with no recog- 825 nized headship save in the case of the several royal families. The 621 only suggestion of any totemic relation or origin is with the royal families which have in common several taboos with regard to certain animals the flesh of which may not be eaten, nor the skins used, &c. Chief of these animals are the *ongulungu* (bushbuck, *Tragelaphus scriptus*), the *ocisema*[4] (the waterbuck, *Cobus defessa*

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[1] *Olu-se*, perhaps 'the place of father', the root *se* being equivalent to the forms *sa*, *so*, *isia*; *olu-ina*, perhaps 'the place of mother'.

[2] See Vedder, pp. 185 ff. (in *The Native Tribes of South West Africa*): 'The Herero nation is divided into 2 large family groups . . . the Herero belongs to the *oruzo* of his father and also to the *eanda* of his mother.' J. Irle, *Die Herero* (Gutersloh, 1906), pp. 87–93.

[3] An interesting study of the VaNyaneka, one of the cattle-rearing people living between Ambo and Umbundu territory, was recently published: A. Lang et C. Tastevin, *La Tribu des Va-Nyaneka* (Mission Rohan-Chabot, Tome V), Corbeil: Impr. Créto. This volume was not available in England or the U.S.A. until 1940, and could not therefore have been used in the present study. I may now say, however, that the authors' treatment of the social structure is not such that it would help to solve the problem in question. The clans are described only from the standpoint of totemism. The maternal line of descent (*e-anda*) is briefly mentioned (p. 45), but not the corresponding paternal line. The authors' evident lack of familiarity with other Bantu material is a great drawback. The system used for the transcription of the vernacular is most confusing, owing to an evident lack of understanding of the Bantu phonetic and grammatical genius with consequent procrustean attempts to force it into foreign forms.

[4] The king's sons may not eat flesh of the *ocisema* lest they should [illegible] *sema*, 'have an impediment of speech'. This may be simply a taboo on grounds of *similia similibus* (or the obverse).

582 Cross-cousin marriage of the type practised by the Sotho[1] or Venda[2] tribes is quite foreign to Umbundu life. It is possible that the Ovimbundu formerly had some such type of cross-cousin marriage, but not for a very long time. Among the seventy-five schedules which I have collected illustrating marriage arrangements there are a few describing marriages which took place about ninety years ago. Magyar also wrote of the financial arrangements made for marriage in Viye about 1850.[3] Both of these sources, together with native tradition, indicate that, at least with regard to the financial arrangements, the cross-cousin type of marriage has not been practised by the Ovimbundu for more than one hundred
582 years. On the other hand, the Ovimbundu know nothing of the
171 exogamous marriage demanded by the Herero,[4] the Zulu,[5] &c. The Umbundu ideal includes marriage with a cross-cousin, but also goes out into the wider kinship group, as does the type of marriage of the Thonga,[6] which in turn is linked with that of the Ndau and the Shona group.[7]

582 The Umbundu principle that only 'those whose blood has
174 touched', or who can 'count' relatives in common, has for a very long time admitted of liberal application. There are cases on record of individuals belonging to regions as widely separated as Ciyaka and Ngalangi contracting marriage *after* having properly 'counted' their common relationship. These cases refer to grandparents of the present generation. It is probable that the diverse racial and cultural elements which have fused to form the Ovimbundu people long ago made imperative the broadening of the cross-cousin type of marriage to the 'ideal' or 'classic' form of (present) Umbundu tradition. An analogous process (with modifications) has continued to operate until to-day this very ideal of marriage within the kinship group is losing its hold in favour of yet more 'liberal' practices.

601 In summary, the Umbundu terminology for the relative by marriage and also the connexion between the ideas of relation by marriage and relation by blood may be seen by the following:

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[1] W. M. Eiselen, 'Preferential Marriage: Correlation of the various modes among the Bantu of South Africa', *Africa*, 1928, pp. 413–28.

[2] H. A. Stayt, *The Bavenda* (London, 1931), chaps. xi and xv.

[3] Magyar, op. cit., p. 282 f.

[4] Vedder in Hahn *et al.*, op. cit., p. 187; Irle, op. cit., p. 89.

[5] Krige, op. cit., pp. 34–5.

[6] Junod, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 253–64.

[7] Hoernlé in Shapera, op. cit., p. 93 f.

The extent to which the order of the *vakuacisoko* exists at 476 present or has existed among the Ovimbundu would be a very 456 interesting subject of inquiry. It is certain that the institution does not exist throughout the territory but only in certain families which belong to the order and pass on membership in it by heredity. Whether there are certain regions where it is or was in the past more strongly held to is not known. It seems to be or to have been [171] more strongly entrenched among the cattle-rearing people to the south, but it is also said to have been practised in Lupolo (Libolo) and even in the region of Luanda.[1] Among the Ovimbundu it seems to have been stronger in the past than at present. Few if any practising members of the set are now known. All 'coevals' or members of the set were in duty bound to render mutual assistance. All had mutual rights to the property of the others with- [421] out complaint or remedy. These mutual rights seem to have been extended to the extreme limit of having intercourse with each [837] other's wives, nor did the injury or even the death of one brought about by another allow the injured family to seek revenge or legal redress. It was the duty of *vakuacisoko* to bury their fellows, [766] themselves digging the grave and attending to all expenses not already supplied by the family. Theirs was also the duty of burying strangers without family who would not be buried by others fearing defilement or responsibility for their debts. Bastos gives a tradition ascribing the origin of this institution to a wager laid between two chiefs.[2] It seems more probable, however, that it is connected with circumcision and tribal initiation. An [561] analogous set of rights and duties is said to have existed among the Herero between 'coevals' circumcised at the same time.[3]

Tribal initiation for both boys (*oku liseviza evamba*) and girls 881 (*uso wakãi*) is carried on in camps or 'schools' in the southern and 171 south-eastern tribes of the Ovimbundu. These camps are regularly held in Kalukembe, Kakonda, and Ngalangi. Sporadic instances of individual camps have also occurred recently in Viye, Bailundu, Sambu, Wambu, Cingolo, and Cikuma. Even in those regions where camps are regularly held, only the children of certain families enter. It seems that there has been some passing [582] on of the custom by heredity and, in general, there is intermarriage only between families and individuals who adhere to the initiation rites.

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[1] Bastos, 1909, op. cit., pp. 67–70.

[2] Ibid., p. 69 f.

[3] Vedder in Hahn *et al.*, op. cit., p. 178.

881 rites. It seems, however, that it is largely by imitation that the 171 camps have spread from Kalukembe, Kakonda, and Ngalangi into adjoining regions. The girls' camps have been less often imitated 881 in these other regions than have those for boys. Whether these 174 rites may have been taken over by the Ovimbundu from the practice of neighbouring peoples, or whether they may have survived from the customs of a culture previously prevalent in the region, is a question. In favour of the latter hypothesis is the fact that nearly all the neighbouring peoples seem to have or to have had these rites in one form or another and also that certain of the Umbundu kings are required to be circumcised before they can assume office. On the other hand, if the camps were held at all in former times, they must have been exceedingly inconspicuous to have escaped the notice of all the older writers. Bastos (1909) stated 'The Ovimbundu proper do not practise it (circumcision).'[1] Neither Silva Porto (1840–90), nor Magyar (1849–57), nor Pinheiro de Lacerda (c. 1790) makes any reference to initiation rites. The missionaries who came to the country in 1880 seem first to have encountered these camps on the Luimbi borders about 1900 but elsewhere hardly before 1915. The conclusion seems to be that it was toward the end of the rubber trade (1911) that the initiation camps were either revived or taken over from the neighbouring cultures to the south and east.[2] Whether initiation rites may spread further among the Ovimbundu or not remains to be seen. Their main emphasis seems to be quite contrary to the more typical trend of Umbundu education. The initiation camps of Ngalangi and Kakonda with their definite break from, and contrast to, the routine of life not only differ from the regular method of instruction but are quite contrary to it. In their methods of educating the young, the Ovimbundu certainly may be characterized as casual. The special times and occasions of education are the regular cycles of the social and economic life and special discipline to enforce specific teaching is used but rarely. The

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[1] Bastos, op. cit., p. 50.

[2] Differences in these rites as practised by the various neighbouring tribes would form an interesting study. The majority initiate both boys and girls at or near puberty but some practise infant circumcision or circumcision at weaning or at the appearance of the permanent teeth. The Ambo are said to have let boys' initiation lapse but to attach much importance to rites for girls (Hahn *et al.*, op. cit., pp. 27–31). I do not know of any nearby tribes which have for girls either any excision or elongation of the labia. Various tests of virginity are used.

683 One of the commonest forms of punishment for sorcery was, and still is, banishment. Only the chief could pronounce the death penalty. Charges of sorcery are sometimes brought today to civil courts and to church courts under the guise of "poisoning".(1)

There are obvious gaps in the information on Umbundu religion and
781 magic e.g. on spirits other than those of ancestors; on ritual connected
776 with the ancestors; on productive and protective magic; on the work of
the medicine-man as distinct from the diviner, and on the functions of
171 the two separate offices of family priest. From existing accounts, however, Umbundu magico-religious concepts would appear to have much in common with those of the peoples to the east of the Plateau, and many of the words used for these concepts *(ngombo, ahamba, wanga, nganga e.g.)* are in fact the same. These peoples have been described in another section of the Survey.(2)

THE LIFE CYCLE

852 Childs' chapters on infancy, childhood, and adolescence form the
114 main part of his book, and his treatment of the subject is much more detailed and on a deeper level than information offered by other writers,(3) and should be consulted.

BIRTH

844 A woman remains in her husband's village for the birth of her children. During the first birth, she is generally assisted by older women of the village, usually relatives of the husband. No man is present unless delayed labour entails the presence of a medical practitioner, or a
diviner. Difficult delivery is said to be caused by broken taboos,
[845] adultery on the part of the mother, sorcery, or the woman's own refusal
to give birth. There is little ceremony connected with childbirth, and
a woman may give birth to her second and later children alone when she is
[846] in the fields. There is a customary lying-in period until the cord falls
from the navel, but this is frequently ignored today.

845 *Twins* are welcomed but are considered prodigies whose birth requires the administrations of an *ocimbanda*.(4) Soon after the birth, and every month while the children are growing, the whole village takes part in a ceremony to preserve their lives. In the case of triplets, one is given to the paramount chief.(5)

553 *Naming* usually takes place, in the case of a first-born, on the day of its birth. Childs notes several factors:

(a) The name *(onduko)* should have been borne by a relative, whether living or dead, whose character and state of well-being are satisfactory; sometimes the child may be considered the re-incarnation of the deceased relative after whom he is named. †

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(1) Childs, personal communication. (2) McCulloch, 1951, pp.72-83.
(3) Hambly, (2) 1934, pp.212-33, and Cushman, 1944.
(4) Ennis, 1945. (5) Childs, 1949, p.83.

† [Childs, op. cit., p. 87-]

882 and young manhood, and to which he will bring his wife. In this house a kind of trial marriage *(uponji)* takes place. The young man will *oku tumisa* ("cause to send") a male friend to ask permission of a girl's mother and 582 also to bring her to his house each night. The girl is called *eponji*. (The custom may also be called *uvaisi*, the girl *ombaisi*.) A young man may first *tumisa* at about seventeen or eighteen years, if he has sufficient money or goods to make the "betrothal" payment (*itambelo* - "enticements" or *oku lupula ikuelure* - "chasing away jealousies"). The amount of the payment (which is made to the girl's parents) varies with locality, wealth and status, but is usually about one tenth of the amount of the marriage payment proper. The amounts of both payments are increasing rapidly.(1) 1833 The nature of the intercourse is carefully circumscribed, and the girl is warned by her mother not to let intromission take place. Proofs of vir- 585 ginity are required on the marriage morning, and there are severe sanctions against premarital pregnancy. Childs' informants stressed that the chief purpose of the custom is that the two young people should get to know each other as well as possible with marriage in view. Ennis however(2) states that *uvaisi* does not necessarily lead to marriage and may be entered upon without the intention of marriage; the girl may leave the man if she does not like him, and if the *uvaisi* is broken off both may marry other persons without any difficulties.

INITIATION(3)

881 Tribal initiation for boys *(oku lisevisa evamba)* and girls *(uso wakai)* 171 is carried on in camps or "schools" in the southern and south-eastern Umbundu chiefdoms, especially in Kalukembe, Kakonda, and Ngalangi. Sporadic instances of individual camps have also occurred recently in Viye, Bailundu, Sambu, Wambu, Cingolo and Cikuma. Even in regions where camps are regularly held, only the children of certain families enter. There appears to have been some passing on of the custom by heredity, and, in general, there is intermarriage only between families and individuals who adhere to the initiation rites. It is not known whether the rites have been taken over by the Ovimbundu from neighbouring peoples, or whether they represent a custom formerly widespread in Umbundu country. Initiation camps are not mentioned by the earlier writers.

Childs gives little information about what goes on in initiation camps, apart from pointing out that in making a definite break from the routine of life they contrast with other aspects of Umbundu education, and that "the hardship and cruelty of initiation camps have their parallel in the trading and slave-raiding expeditions of the past." His statement that "as an 'educational institution' [the initiation camps] do not seem to fit into the culture" is not very clear. From the few details given by Hambly(4) Umbundu camps appear to be identical with those of the tribes to the east, and here one of the most important aspects of the camps is their ritually-emphasised contrast with regular life.(5)

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(1) Childs, personal communication.
(2) 1945.
(3) Childs, op.cit., pp.115-7.
(4) (2) 1934, pp.226f.
(5) See McCulloch, 1951, pp.85-91.

argued that the cattle might have been brought along the course of 174
the Zambezi and Kwando there is the objection that there are here 231
several tsetse fly belts. On the contrary, cattle-producing country in the southwest and south of Angola is far more accessible than the Rhodesian plateau.

In the south there is the cultural habit of digging wells, especially 312
among the Vakuanyama; but the Vachokue have not developed this 174
trait. The substrata underlying the sand of southern Angola hold water which serves through the dry season, a fact which is advantageously employed by the cattle-keepers. The Vachokue lack this well-digging habit, and, even if subsurface water were present, the transient Ovimbundu would have lacked opportunity to dig for it when passing through hostile country.

The acquisition of cattle by the Ovimbundu is of great impor- 233
tance, because it is concerned with the grafting of a series of pastoral traits on a culture in no way originally associated with pastoral pursuits. The truth of this will later be made clear by examination of historical and ethnological evidence.

Geographical considerations give a picture of the Ovimbundu 133
situated in naturally fortified country from which they had access to four surrounding areas, whose cultural characters agree well with the determinism of topography and climate. The natural advantages of the central highlands, and the results of contact with each of the adjacent areas, are points which will be developed in appropriate sections throughout the ensuing chapters.

The kernel of the migratory problem of the Ovimbundu is reached 101
when Torday traces out the history of the Kimbundu, for the Kimbundu are present-day neighbors of the Ovimbundu, to whom they are closely allied in language and culture (*ovi* is a Bantu plural prefix, which was perhaps used to express the inclusion of Kimbundu and Babunda under the general name Ovimbundu).

Torday's sifting of the historical evidence results in the conclusion 174
that the Kimbundu came from the northeast, fighting their way to 167
the Luando. These Kimbundu divided, with civil war as a conse- 101
quence. One section crossed the river Kwanza, south of which they specialized in agriculture after becoming sedentary. Their sub-chief they called the *Kalunga*, which is the present-day word used by the Ovimbundu in greeting their chiefs. Traditions of the Ovimbundu point to the northeast as a center from which they spread at least ten generations ago. The rise of the powerful kingdom of Lunda dates from the seventeenth century, and although the details of this concentration of power in northeast Angola are unknown the general effects are understood. There was a great displacement of tribes in a southerly and southwesterly direction. In connection with the suggestion that the Ovimbundu came from the northeast of Angola, there is the necessity for recording the absence of even a fragment of historical evidence or tribal tradition indicating that the Ovimbundu came from the south or the east of Angola.

Cultural affinities of the Ovimbundu with tribes of the southwest 174
Congo in particular, and with western Bantu culture in general, 171
strongly support the foregoing deductions from historical sources (chapter X).

There is a probability that tribal disturbances resulting from the rise of the Lunda Empire led to a spread of the Vachokue over eastern Angola. Some of the effects of this contact have already been mentioned in chapter II, where contacts of the Ovimbundu and the Vachokue were discussed. The journey brought me into contact with the Vachokue at Cangamba, Katoko, and Ngalangi, of which Cangamba is the most easterly.

Witnessing of initiation ceremonies combined with observation of physique, language, and artifacts, leads me to agree with Torday that Cangamba is probably the ancient center of Vachokue culture. As one proceeds from Cangamba westward this type of culture becomes thinner as the borders of the country occupied by the Ovimbundu are approached. On the border line between the cultures of the Vachokue and the Ovimbundu, notably at Ngongo near Ngalangi,

174 there is tribal and cultural miscegenation. Both Umbundu and
● 171 Vachokue languages are spoken; boys of Ngalangi were seen to wear
[881] initiation costumes similar to those worn at Cangamba by the Vachokue, but on proceeding farther westward into territory exclusively occupied by the Ovimbundu, such initiation ceremonies are either absent or attenuated in ritual.

144
101 Elende, one center of research among the Ovimbundu, represents the purest Umbundu speech and culture observable at the present day. But in chapter IV some physical resemblance of the Ovimbundu to the Vachokue is noted. Warfare commonly resulted in the taking of slaves, a fact which might account for an apparent infusion of Vachokue blood in some of the Ovimbundu.

174
167 The historical data suggest a northern or northeastern starting point of Umbundu migrations. Therefore an inquiry into the ethnology of these areas will be useful in showing the kind of culture with which the Ovimbundu were in contact before their settlement in the Benguela Highlands. If historical sources disclose the nature of northern Angolan culture from the year A.D. 1500 onward, such evidence can then be considered in relation to cultural traits of the Ovimbundu at the present day.

The establishment of strong cultural resemblances between extant Umbundu culture and older cultural patterns of northern Angola, would tend to strengthen the evidence of history respecting the northern origin of the Ovimbundu.

131
174 The regions dealt with in the following summary of ethnological facts are the Cabinda Enclave to the north of the Congo estuary, the region of San Salvador, the hinterlands of Loanda and Benguela, and the area of northern Angola between Lat. 7° and 9° S. and Long. 13° to 22° E. This covers the whole area with which the Ovimbundu are likely to have been in contact before entering their present home.

175
101 My survey begins with the observations of Andrew Battell in 1596. His account deals mainly with the northwestern part of Angola, a country bordering on and actually including territory now occupied by the Ovimbundu, who in all probability came in contact with the Jaggas, whose habits of life are described by Battell.

Torday and Joyce identify the Jaggas with the present-day Bayaka, whose cultural resemblances to the Ovimbundu are examined later. In my opinion, the Jaggas correspond well with the Bihéan section of the Ovimbundu, an itinerant and exceedingly warlike people.

As early as 1600 there were cattle as far north as Benguela, and 175
the Jaggas regarded these as a most valuable part of their plunder. 171 ●
Palms are a characteristic part of the vegetation of Angola north of the Benguela Highlands. Evidently the Jaggas moved extensively in northern Angola because they cut down palms for making wine [824]
(Battell, p. 30). The usual method is to tap the top of a standing tree, but the Jaggas were an itinerant people who did not cultivate palms.

Sprinkling the blood of sacrificed animals on a newly kindled fire I have mentioned in connection with Umbundu rites celebrating the founding of a new village. The Jaggas carried out this ceremony before a raiding expedition, when cows and other animals were sacrificed (Battell, p. 33). Battell mentions the use of red *tukula* [824]
wood for personal decoration. This wood (*Pterocarpus tinctorius*) is used in many parts of Angola at the present time.

Reference to Battell confirms the information given to me in relation to an old iron gong obtained at Ngalangi. He says (p. 20), [534]
"The general did strike his gong, which is an instrument of war that soundeth like a bell, and presently made an oration with a loud voice."

Battell reported that the Jaggas wore beads of ostrich eggshell. [237]
Ravenstein, the editor of this volume in the Hakluyt Series, seems [114]
to doubt this statement, saying, "There are no ostriches in Angola, and as to beads made of ostrich eggs I can give no explanation." I noted the presence of captive ostriches in southern Angola as far north as Gambos. The Vakuanyama women greatly value their long necklaces of ostrich-eggshell beads. Necklaces made in the north of Angola are traded to the south and conversely, each kind of necklace having a high value due to remoteness of origin. This instance, like many other points, confirms the reliability of Battell's observations in Angola.

Father Jerome Merolla (1682) describes the poison ordeal which [695]
was used from the Congo estuary to San Salvador (Churchills' Voyages, II, p. 675). "The aforesaid oath is administered to the supposed traitor by a sort of wizard, who, making a certain composition out of the juices of herbs, serpent's flesh, pulp of fruits, and divers other things, gives it to the supposed delinquent to drink. If guilty (as they tell you) he will immediately fall down in a swoon or trembling to the ground." The marimba was used, and a double iron gong was carried before a chief and struck by an attendant.

175 •171 [412] O. Dapper (Description de l'Afrique, 1732, p. 369) shows a scene in which an ax, such as I obtained from the Vasele country, is being used for beheading a slave.

[325] [534] Cavazzi (Istorica descrizione, etc., Bologna, 1687) describes the three kingdoms of Congo, Matamba, and northern Angola. The poison ordeal, the scapegoat, the blacksmith's bellows (pp. 101, 170) are all traits known to the Ovimbundu. The musical instrument made from a large gourd, which has a ridged board attached for rubbing with a stick, is the type I collected. Cavazzi pictures the double iron gong and the long drum held between the knees. He [782] also shows a rain-maker (p. 214) and the sacrifice of two hundred victims at the accession of a king (p. 210).

174 243 [113] Consideration of the history of maize in Africa is of importance in connection with these early writings, as this grain is the staple agricultural product of the Ovimbundu. I am indebted to Dr. Berthold Laufer for access to his unpublished research on this subject. From the following facts one may assume that, in all probability, the maize culture of the Ovimbundu was derived from the Congo region before their migration into the Benguela Highlands.

175 243 Father Jerome Merolla remarks that maize was growing in the neighborhood of San Salvador (1683–92). The native names were *mampunni* and *massambuta;* from this corn an alcoholic beverage was prepared. According to Cavazzi (Ehrmann, Geschichte der merkwürdigsten Reisen, XIII, 1794) maize was not intensively cultivated by the Negroes of lower Guinea, though it thrives well and may be [177] harvested twice or thrice a year. The natives said that the grain was brought by the Portuguese, but they did not esteem it highly, and were accustomed to use it as food for pigs.

Bosman (p. 312) records that prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, Negroes were entirely ignorant of *milho* ("maize"). The account of Duarte Lopez preserved by Filippo Pigafetta states that the Negroes consider maize the vilest of all grains, so that it is given to swine. This contempt and lack of knowledge of the food value, combined with ignorance of methods of preparation, suggest a recent introduction (Pigafetta, translation by M. Hutchinson, 1881, p. 40). Dapper (Description de l'Afrique, 1732, p. 345) also mentions the cultivation of maize. Battell lived as prisoner in northern Angola about the year 1600, consequently his records of the use of the great Guinea wheat (maize), which the natives call *mas-importo*, give early evidence for the use of this grain (Hakluyt Soc., 1901, pp. 9, 11, 67).

The foregoing facts, when compared with field work among the 174 Ovimbundu, indicate that the old culture of the Congo and northern Angola bears a strong resemblance to Umbundu culture at the present day. A more detailed analysis of this resemblance is made in chapter X.

The following notes dealing with exploration in Angola (1800– 175 1930) are adduced for critical comparison with my own observations 171 ● among the Ovimbundu.

The work of Sir R. F. Burton describing the exploration of Lacerda [114] and other Portuguese pioneers, is more useful for geographical than for ethnological information. Lacerda's journey to Czambe, south of Lake Moero, was performed in 1798. A mention of veneration [769] for the dead and consultation of the deceased on all occasions of war or of good fortune, is made (p. 127). These are important points in the present tribal life of the Ovimbundu.

Bowditch (1824) writes from information given to him by Almeida 175 and Saldanha. There are valuable references to the Vacilenge, a 101 people adjacent to the Ovimbundu, who refused to kill their cattle, 234 "rather than do which they will endure famine to extremity." This note was made about Long. 15° E. and Lat. 15° S. (p. 34). The cattle were milked, and cattle-raiding by the Ovimbundu was common at this time. Many present-day Ovimbundu do not milk their cattle, but the Vacilenge still follow their milking custom observed before 1824.

Livingstone's journey through northeast and northern Angola in 175 1853 contains references to the Vachokue who seemed bent on plunder 171 (I, p. 370). Livingstone noted cotton spinning, which I recorded [283] as an occupation of males of the Ovimbundu at Elende. Livingstone, like other early travelers, encountered caravans of Bihéans (Ovimbundu) [439] bearing elephants' tusks and beeswax, commodities, which, along with slaves, formed the chief merchandise of these caravans from the Benguela Highlands (p. 466). Livingstone notes and sketches (Plate XIII, Fig. 10) the double-handled hoe (p. 442) which [412] is still used.

J. J. Monteiro (I, p. 61) saw the poison ordeal administered. The [695] poison itself was prepared from the thick hard bark of a large tree (*Erythrophlaeum guineense*). The place of observation was Mongue [824] Grande, just south of the Congo estuary, and again Monteiro was present when the poison cup was given to two women at Ambrizette. Of this ordeal there is more to be said when discussing the culture contacts of the Ovimbundu, because the ordeal is a basic factor of

171 wide distribution in Africa (C. Wiedemann, 1909) and the ceremony
175 still survives among the Ovimbundu in modified form.

[114] Though an informative writer, Monteiro is sometimes vague; he
says (I, p. 278) that circumcision is a universal custom among the
blacks of Angola. In view of the extent of Angola, the diversity of
tribes, and the fact that Monteiro traveled over only a small part of
the country, this information is misleading.

Monteiro is the only writer in whose works I have found a
reference to the Vasele tribe; probably no part of Angola has been
so neglected as the Esele country in the hinterland of Novo Redondo.
At the present day the Vasele have a reputation for cannibalism.
[266] Monteiro saw human flesh eaten at Cuacra, while the skulls of the
victims were placed on adjacent trees. Monteiro states (II, p. 167)
that on the death of a king the Mucelis (Vasele) put out all the fires
in the kingdom; these were relighted by the succeeding king who
[321] used fire produced by rubbing two sticks together. The flat beads
of shell called *dongos*, made from *Achatina monetaria* (II, p. 168),
are made today and traded to the far south of Angola, where their
novelty assures them a value far beyond their intrinsic worth. I was
fortunate in obtaining an example of the old beheading ax mentioned
by Monteiro (II, p. 157) and sketched by Cavazzi (p. 210). Par-
[262] boiled and roasted rats were offered to me as food; Monteiro mentions
the offering of a roasted rat on a skewer (I, p. 99).

The account of Commander V. L. Cameron, who left Zanzibar
for his journey across Africa in 1873, mentions several points of
anthropological importance in relation to the Angolan section of his
[756] journey. Cameron saw a net-covered medicine-man of the Kibokue
(Vachokue) wearing a mask and a kilt of grass (p. 384). The function
[524] of this man was to frighten devils from the woods. The contest in
which boys discharge their arrows at a rolling root was seen by
Cameron near Kagnombe (Cangamba?). Skulls of victims killed in
[787] war were spiked on poles (p. 399). The diviner was followed by
attendants who struck iron gongs, while the diviner himself shook a
rattle made of basket-work in the form of a dumb-bell (p. 404).
Cameron gives an accurate description of the divination basket and
its use without going into details. These I have been able to supply
[482] (chapter IX). The explorer met caravans of Bihéans, renowned
carriers then as they are today. They were usually drunk and
abusive; in some instances they attempted to rob the stragglers.
000 The use of caterpillars as food is noted (p. 416): "A man cut open

The use of caterpillars as food is noted (p. 416): "A man cut open [262]
a large cocoon, extracted the contents, and smacked his lips with 171
great gusto." My field notes mention the use of caterpillars as food. 175

Capello and Ivens (1877–80) remark on the burial places of hunters which are distinguishable by the skulls of antelopes, buffalo, and hippopotamuses, stuck on upright poles, mixed with skulls of oxen killed in honor of the defunct. The writers noted that a heap of stones protected the body. I photographed two types of cairn in the regions of Ganda and Luimbale respectively. Capello and Ivens are not precise in their locality, but I judge it to have been Long. 17° E. and Lat. 13° S., a considerable distance from my own observations (Plates XXXII, Fig. 1; LXXIV, Fig. 1). [766]

I photographed the stilt-walkers at the final stages of the initiation ceremonies at Cangamba. These men had no costumes; on the contrary they were almost naked but were covered with white clay. Capello and Ivens (p. 295), saw a stilt-walker with a feathered mask and a netting costume. Such attire I saw on an Uluchazi medicine-man, but not on the stilt-walkers (Plate LXXXI, Figs. 1, 2). [481] [292]

I was unable to obtain information about the stilt-walkers, but Capello states that they castigated misdemeanants, punished shameless women, and accused criminals. Capello and Ivens were 187 miles to the northwest of my area of observation. The Uluchazi medicine-man, who appeared with the stilt-walkers during my visits, was said to make bad magic for women. The men ignored him but women gathered round in a derisive way; they quickly scattered when he pursued them. 693

Serpa Pinto, who made his journey across Angola in 1878, has so many references to customs and objects still extant, that I propose to tabulate his observations because of their value in showing the preservation of indigenous traits in spite of Portuguese contacts. 175 114

The body of a chief is buried with a covering of oxhide. Many oxen are sacrificed at the death of a king. The heir to the deceased is bound to sacrifice his whole herd in order to regale his people and give peace to the departed (S. Pinto, I, p. 63). The Ovimbundu conform at the present time to similar methods of burial and sacrifice. 175 766

Near Huambo, Serpa Pinto saw in every village a kind of "temple for conversation." This is the onjango, that I have described and photographed (Plate XLVIII, Fig. 1). It is the house in which all males foregather for the evening meal, which is brought by their women (I, p. 96). 175 [345]

The gathering and eating of caterpillars is described. This continues today (I, p. 120). [262]

175 [316] [325] Serpa Pinto saw shafts for the working of iron ore in the neighborhood of Cubango. The ore was mixed with charcoal and smelted in shallow pits. It is stated that the iron was sometimes tempered with ox-grease and salt. The bellows are of the type made at Elende (I, p. 128). Of the tempering process I have no confirmation.

175 787 [764] Somewhere near Bihé Serpa Pinto saw the ceremony of questioning a corpse which was made to sway to and fro, the people believing all the while that it does so without human intervention. The diviner declared that the soul of a dead person will tell who caused the death (I, p. 130). I observed and photographed this ceremony (Plate XLV, Fig. 1).

[695] The ordeal of the poison cup is described; blood-letting, and divination by shaking articles in a basket are also mentioned. Pinto says that in the articles that appear uppermost the diviner reads what his hearers are desirous of learning of the past, present, or future. Sorcery and rain-making are likewise briefly mentioned (I, p. 132). The divination basket, the poison ordeal, and rain-making, are Umbundu cultural traits today.

171 224 Here Pinto illustrates the existing practice of mounting the skulls of animals killed by a hunter on a pole in the village. There is a further reference to this custom among the Ambuellas (I, p. 333). These instances, combined with those personally noted, give a wide distribution for the practice (I, p. 177).

175 [304] Pinto saw the operation of tooth mutilation among the Luimba. The operation was performed with a knife which was struck by repeated light blows (I, p. 209).

[411] Pinto illustrates arrowheads in use in 1879 (I, pp. 277, 346). These are exactly the same as those made and used in 1929 (Plate XVII, Figs. 1-9).

[412] Axes used by the Luchazi are sketched with a detail that shows the old forms to persist without alteration (II, p. 36).

[321] Water-pipes made from horns and gourds by the Luina of eastern Angola are of the forms now used in that region, also by the Ovimbundu of the present day (II, pp. 33, 37).

175 114 For use in checking and supplementing my observations Serpa Pinto's book was found to be of the greatest service, though the precise locality was sometimes difficult to identify. This explorer, in common with others, scattered his ethnological observations among descriptions of the route and botanical, zoological, and other notes.

Lux traveled from Loanda due east, following the Kwanza on the northern bank between 9° and 10° S. Lat., and so into Lunda.

The picture of types gathered at Ngalangi (Plate LXXXIX, 142
Fig. 3) shows, reading from left to right along the back row, then 101
along the front row in the same direction: an Ocimbundu; an Ocivokue; a man of the Vangangella; an Uluchazi woman; a Lunda man; and two types of the Vangangella.

The M'Bunda man and woman photographed at Cangamba
display characteristic deformation of the upper central incisors [304]
(Plate XCI, Figs. 1, 2). Photographs of a Mussurongo man and two women, taken about a hundred miles east of Malange, show no great difference from the Ovimbundu except in their shorter stature (Plates LXX, Figs. 1, 2; LXXI, Figs. 1, 2). The Bushman (Plate LXIX, Figs. 1, 2) shows a type found wandering in small bands in the south of Angola. These photographs were taken at Cassanga.

The dress and personal ornaments of the tribes dwelling to the 171
south of the Ovimbundu (Plates LIX–LXVIII) are entirely different 301
from the clothing and decorative styles observed in the areas occupied 304
by the Ovimbundu. This statement is true with regard to bodily covering, ornaments, tooth mutilation, use of pigment, scarification, and hairdressing.

In respect of all these factors, males and females of the Ovimbundu [177]
have distinctive patterns which do not appear to have influenced, or to have been influenced by the styles around them.

In working southward from Elende I passed through typical Umbundu cultures until the vicinity of Kipungo was reached. At this place the change in physical appearance, ornaments, and hairdressing was remarkable both for its abruptness and distinctiveness. But the change from agricultural to pastoral pursuits is gradual.

A comparison of photographs indicates at once the truth of this statement, which can be further illustrated by a detailed description of the ornaments observed from Kipungo to Mongua.

By far the most important of these is the circular *omba* shell 301
made from the basal part of a gastropod shell of the genus *Conus* 321
Linn; and allied forms. These are highly prized, not because of any [825]
intrinsic worth, but on account of strong sentiment arising from their
bequest, which is usually in the female line. I have, however, seen [562]
a few males of the Vakwanyama wearing these shells. For the old *omba* shells monetary offers equal to the earnings of a woman for a period of six months were made, but without success. One woman wavered somewhat, but finally decided that she dared not return to her home without her *omba* shells. From a Portuguese trader I bought, for a small sum, *omba* shells showing stages in manufacture.

301 The new ornaments had acquired no sentimental value, therefore
321 their price was moderate.

[171] *Omba* shells are to be seen in use from Kipungo southward through
Huila, among the Luvando, and among the Vakuanyama of southern
[554] Angola. In the places mentioned one may judge the social status
of a woman by the number of *omba* shells she wears. A principal
wife is usually well supplied with these ornaments.

302 In this southern journey it was noticeable that there was an
171 increasing use of red pigment which is lavishly employed for smearing
[294] every kind of ornament, the body, and the hair. Leather belts and
skirts of Vakuanyama women are thickly coated with red pigment
which is invariably mixed with grease. The red powder is prepared
[824] by desiccating a red wood called *tukula* by the Vakuanyama, a name
which is used through Angola and the southern Congo area.

412 From Kipungo southward through the Vakuanyama country
171 there is a notable absence of decorative wooden hair combs. On the
contrary, delicately carved combs are used by both men and women
of the Ovimbundu. The Vasele make such combs, but by far the best
[532] examples are made and used by the Vachokue tribe of eastern Angola.
Here the decorative design usually includes a well-carved human
figure at the top of the comb.

301 Among the Vakuanyama, necklaces of disks made from ostrich
[237] eggshell are worn by the women only. A woman of importance has
a dozen loops of such necklaces, each loop being about 125 cm long.
[551] These necklaces are so greatly esteemed that only after much persuasion can a woman be induced to part with a single link. Perhaps, as
is the case with *omba* shell, there is more than the intrinsic value to
be considered. One point is constantly noticed in considering social
status and ornament. All the wives of a wealthy man, especially
among the Vakuanyama, are made to advertise their husband's position by the profusion of their ornaments and the quality of their
leather skirts and belts.

[321] There is, in addition to the necklaces of ostrich-eggshell beads, a
highly prized necklace made from small perforated disks of shell
having a diameter of about a centimeter. The Vakuanyama women
smear a necklace of this kind with grease and *tukula* powder; the
[435] value of a necklace 125 cm long is equivalent to that of an ox. In
describing these necklaces there is interest in noting that they are
traded to the south of Angola from places six hundred miles to the
[439] north; therefore their value is to some extent dependent on rarity
and distant origin.

Young unmarried girls of the Luvando tribe wear a large number 301
of leg-bands which extend from the ankles to the knees as a sign that 924
puberty has not been reached. These leg-bands are somewhat roughly [881]
twisted from fibrous roots and twigs from which the cortex has been removed. Collars of tough, elastic, cane-like substance are worn by Luvando women, and so numerous are these that the neck is entirely
covered. These cane neck-bands are ornamented with burned, [531]
incised, geometrical patterns, and, in keeping with other ornaments, are thickly smeared with grease and red powder from *tukula* wood (Plate LIX, Figs. 1, 2).

Women of the Vakipungo and Vakuanyama wear heavy coils of 171 •
brass or copper wire on their forearms. In southern Angola women 301
wear bracelets of twisted wire which are identical with those worn 439
by Zulu women. Bracelets of beaten trade brass, ornamented with [531]
incised geometrical designs, are worn by women of the Ovimbundu, Vakuanyama, Luvando, and Vakipungo tribes. Ovimbundu women now depend largely on trade goods for personal ornament.

Ovimbundu men and women are dressed in trade cloth. Unmar- 291
ried girls wear one piece of cloth which hangs from the armpits to the 171
knees. A married woman drapes herself with two pieces of cloth, a skirt hanging from her girdle, and an upper piece so folded as to hold her baby tightly to her back. Men wear a single piece of cloth as a skirt; the upper part of the body is bare (Plates XLIX–LI). From the region of Kipungo to the southern border, clothing is of leather. The Vachokue wear trade cloth or bark cloth.

Hairdressing is of many styles. Ovimbundu women braid their hair 302
neatly in strands across their foreheads, and small blue and white 171
trade beads are used to decorate the braids. The hairdressing of the Ovimbundu women is different from that in any other part of Angola. At an early age the hair is trained into two long loops at the back of the head. Then these are covered with black cloth which is bound tightly. The two loops are afterwards studded with brass-headed tacks obtained from a store (Plate XL, Fig. 3).

Luvando women in the region of Kipungo dress the hair to form a large triangular projection from the back of the head. Girls of the Vabeneca tribe near Huila mass the hair with clay to form large "cock's combs." Women of Gambos pass each small plait of hair through hollow reeds. Humbe women do not redden or grease their hair which is massed into three high ridges on the top, while at the sides there are hornlike projections. Vakuanyama women dress their hair with grease and *tukula* powder. A principal wife builds up her

A principal wife builds up her
302 [595] hair into five high cones. Vachokue women mass their hair into separate balls shaped and held by clay and red coloring matter.
171 I know of no hairdressing for Vachokue men, but ornamental wooden combs are sometimes used.

304 In only one place have I seen a nose pin worn, namely, the Esele country of Vila Nova de Selles. The fashion is out of date, but women of only twenty-five years of age have the septum of the nose bored; evidently the custom has not been obsolete for a long period (Plate LXXV, Fig. 1).

177 439 301 The most popular European importations are blue cloth with white spots, metal hair combs, beads, and bright metal crosses bearing a figure of the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus. This ornament has penetrated to districts far away from Christian missions, and its wide dispersal shows that a newly introduced and attractive ornament from a foreign source may readily be accepted by tribes of different cultures.

517 301 There are interesting points of psychology in the attitude of the Ovimbundu toward European importations. Only a few patterns of cloth are favored, and there is no sale for any other design. Some designs are thought to be appropriate for young girls while others are favored by older women. The same may be said of colored beads, for whereas both blue and white beads are the usual decoration for young women and immature girls, red beads are worn chiefly by the elderly women.

178 A consideration of personal ornament establishes the general truth that in scarification, hairdressing, tooth mutilation, the use of red powder and grease, the anointing of the hair with palm oil, and the wearing of trade cloth, leather, or bark cloth, there is little exchange of styles. There are diffusions in language and other cultural traits, but decorative elements which have for a long period been regarded as distinctive of tribal life are rigidly preserved.

824 *Okalaluluka.* This tree has leaves which are used in treating a skin disease.
813 *Usendanguluse.* This small tree, only three feet in height, gives straight twigs which are used in making arrow shafts.

FOOD SUPPLY

COLLECTING AND HUNTING

222 462 Collecting of natural products which serve as food substances is chiefly in the hands of women and children, though an exception has to be made in the instance of honey, which is gathered by men and boys.

Boys diligently search for nests, noting their location so as to be able to visit them again when the fledglings are large enough to serve as food. Large numbers of women and children may be seen
252 gathering caterpillars in gourds The insides of the caterpillars are
222 squeezed into boiling water to make soup.

When a cloud of locusts appears, as in 1925, the creatures are gathered. They are sometimes fried, or they may be boiled in water, dried, and preserved with salt in earthenware pots.

A number of miscellaneous items of the food supply were mentioned in connection with names of trees whose fruits are gathered.[1]

223 [411] Boys engaged in food-gathering usually carry small bows and blunt wooden arrows (*ocilavi*). One type of bird arrow is fixed to the bowstring. The forward end of the arrow is split so that it may contain small stones that are ejected when the string is released. From the wild fig tree mucilage is obtained and this is boiled until it forms a thick paste which is smeared on the boughs of trees.
[231] Some of the small birds captured in this way are eaten, others are kept in wicker cages made by children.

343 ● 171 In all parts of Angola large cylindrical beehives may be seen fixed high in the trees (Plate XC, Fig. 2). Two types of hive have been noted in particular. In the Elende district a hive is made by opposing two half cylinders of wood each about three feet long, so forming a hive which has a diameter of one foot. The ends are covered, with the exception of a small round hole. The whole structure is bound round with grass which is kept in position by lashings of bark. In the neighborhood of Cassanga a difference in the structure of the hives was noticed. This type of hive is made from a cylinder of strong reddish bark, the edges of which are fastened together with stout wooden pegs. The dimensions are the same as for the hive used in Elende, but the hive of bark is uncovered.

231 In the Elende district honey of wild bees is removed from the hives in the months of August and December. One man ascends

[1] [see pp. 138-140, category 116]

the tree in order to lower the hive with a long rope of bark or plaited 231
fiber, while beneath the tree men are prepared to take the hive,
which is opened over a smoky fire. The men wear no protection,
consequently they are badly stung. Boys are encouraged to help,
and those who run away receive no honey. Honey may be eaten 263
alone or with manioc. No drink is made from honey only, but 273
ochasa is the name given to beer with honey in it. *Ovingundu* is
a drink made from pounded corn which has been soaked in water
to which a little honey has been added. The drink is allowed
to remain untouched over night; thus it becomes sweet and is mildly
intoxicating.

Wax is a very important item of trade. In the remote places 439
natives bring to small trading posts balls of wax which are about 257
two pounds in weight. These in former days were a standard of [436]
exchange in terms of which other values could be measured. These
balls of wax are made into large cakes for foreign export. In the
Esele country a fiber strainer is used for cleaning the wax. Honey
is sometimes dried in very large baskets which are three feet in
diameter and two inches deep. These baskets were not observed
among the Ovimbundu, but they are used in the region of Cassanga
in southern Angola. The honey of wild bees when eaten in the comb
is palatable; it would be more so if one could disregard the presence
of numerous dead bees.

The bow is the chief weapon of the hunter. The release of the 411
arrow is made with the index and middle fingers (Plate XXXIX, 171
Fig. 1). I have observed this method among the Ovimbundu of 224
the Benguela Highlands, in the region of Kipungo, in the far south
among the Vakuanyama, and among the Vasele of the Novo Redondo
hinterland. Arrows differ considerably in pattern as the illustrations
show (Plate XVII, Figs. 1-9); the Ovimbundu have arrow-points
of excellent workmanship. The manufacture of these arrow-points is [326]
one of the most skilled occupations of the blacksmith. Each
man makes his own shafts and feathers them. The arrows of the
Vasele have leaf-shaped iron points; so also have those used by
the Vakuanyama.

Among the Ovimbundu are specialists who make bows from [463]
elastic woods called *usio* and *osumbia*. The bow itself is *ohonji*
and the arrow is *usongo*. At the third shot I saw a young Ocimbundu
boy split a cane which was placed upright at a distance of thirty-
three feet. The throwing club (*ohunya*) is used for killing small
game such as hares.

226 spear eight feet long, the end of which consisted of ten sharp prongs
462 of palm stem (Plate LXXIII, Fig. 1).

Near Cangamba in eastern Angola, fishing in the Kwando River
[171] occupied numerous men and women of the mixed tribes in the district, namely, Vachokue, Luchazi, and Babunda. Men paddled into midstream in small bark canoes from which fishing operations were directed. The fishermen carried small conical string nets, which were attached to stakes in such a way that the openings of the nets faced upstream. Vachokue women, working in pairs, dragged baskets against the current (Plate LXXXV, Figs. 1, 2).

AGRICULTURE AND COOKING

343 *Osila* is the Umbundu word for the granary which stands on
243 wooden supports (Plate XLIV, Fig. 1); this *osila* is for the restricted
family, and there is one *osila* for every house. The Ovimbundu
store their corn in bulk, but in the Esele country I noted that the
cobs themselves were carefully packed. Each Ocimbundu girl culti-
[432] vates a small patch of ground, the produce of which she is at liberty
to sell in order to buy brass ornaments, beads, and palm oil.

In addition to maize, barley, oats, and wheat, with here and
241 there a little rye, are occasionally grown. There are three colors of
beans, red, white, and black. There is no attempt to keep the varieties
[651] separate, so they cross-fertilize freely. The Ovimbundu try to
[438] cultivate a surplus of beans and maize which they use to pay their
taxes to the Portuguese, likewise to sell at the stores of traders.

252 Corn is pounded on the rock which has been used for generations
512 after it has been consecrated by sprinkling the blood of a chicken.
Pounding begins as early as five o'clock in the morning, before sun-
rise, and from that time to sunset the pounding-rock is in use. The
[521] rock is evidently regarded as a meeting place for social intercourse;
it is undoubtedly the center of village gossip so far as the women
are concerned (Plate XXXVI, Fig. 2).

As corn alone is considered a poor food, it is sprinkled on boiling water to which beans are added. Cooking goes on from early morning to sunset over a slow fire. Children sometimes receive as their evening meal a thick plastic cake of mushed corn to which green leaves of a squash are added.

252 There are five kinds of manioc resembling one another in general appearance, but the Ovimbundu distinguish the plants, and reserve for each what they consider to be appropriate preparation. The method varies for sweet and bitter varieties of manioc.

262 [232] 251 The flesh of goats, sheep, and pigs might be more frequently used if these animals were bred and cared for under some system of animal husbandry. The Ovimbundu are familiar with the preservation of meat by smoking and drying it, because flesh of animals killed in the chase is sometimes preserved in this way by hunters, yet the method is not widely and constantly applied in order to assure a regular supply of meat.

234 171 Failure to utilize the milk of cattle and goats is another example of the neglect of useful commodities. The Vacilenge, who are near neighbors of the Ovimbundu, milk their cows as do the Ovimbundu themselves in some districts, though the practice is by no means general. Even where cows are milked, butter and cheese are not made, though the Ovimbundu know of the process, which is practised by the Vakuanyama of southern Angola.

272 There are three kinds of beer. *Ocisangua* is a sweet beer which even children may drink because it is not intoxicating. Water is heated slowly in the pot but not boiled; meanwhile meal of Kafir corn or maize is added. Pounded sweet potato is strained in such a way that the liquid part goes into the beer pot; the residual mush is given to pigs. After the beer has cooled out of doors, it is transferred to a large gourd and allowed to stand over night. Next day it is considered a fit drink to consume or to offer to visitors (Plate XXIII, Fig. 3).

273 The making of an intoxicating beer *ekundi* proceeds as for *ocisangua*, but instead of adding strained liquid from sweet potatoes a root called *ombundi* is included in the brew. The large pot containing this beer is covered tightly and allowed to stand untouched for twenty-four hours, at the end of which time it is a potent drink. It is important to note that the corn is allowed to sprout in the ground before it is made into the infusion to which the root *ombundi* is added.

Ocimbombo is a strongly intoxicating drink. In order to prepare this brew, corn is soaked for a week; then it is left in the ground for the same length of time until it has germinated. It is then pounded on the rocks and placed in large pots filled with water to which sweet meal of corn is added. Simmering over the fire is continued for two days with constant stirring. This brew differs from *ekundi* in the longer germination of the corn and the longer period of simmering. On the fourth day after the simmering is completed the drink is said to be ready for consumption. If the people have honey, they add some to the brew on the third day of standing. My inform-

273 ant said, "Sometimes a man who has drunk this beer will sleep on the ground all day and say nothing."

263 438 Salt is a welcome gift in all parts of Angola. Native tribes appreciate its culinary value but show no eagerness to barter for the commodity. At the present time salt is sold in every trader's store, but in earlier times the substance had to be obtained along caravan routes from the coast and was therefore more highly prized than it is today. 317 [231] The Ovimbundu realize the value of salt in the diet of cattle; therefore the animals are occasionally driven to a salt lick in the hills. The Ovimbundu do not use this salt for their own diet, possibly because the salt enjoyed by the cattle is some form of potash and not sodium chloride.

● [171] The Vachokue extract salt from the leaves of a river plant by burning it to ashes which are soaked and strained. This is a common African method, but I did not hear of it among the Ovimbundu. The probability is that the Ovimbundu have always obtained salt from the coast.

372 In connection with cooking and brewing beer, methods of making fire are of importance.

Matches are coming into use among the Ovimbundu, but the necessity for them is not great as the hearth fire is not extinguished. [354] In the center of each hut is a fireplace made of three hearth-stones over which logs of wood are placed with their ends in the fire which is kept alight by pushing the logs forward from time to time. A blaze is made by breaking off bark from the logs, placing it on the center of the fire and blowing. Fire is carried from one place to another by conveying a smoldering log. In the Esele country boys may be seen setting off at dawn to scare birds in the corn field, each carrying fire with him.

Usually the children or some other members of the family sleep on mats close to the fire, which requires no attention other than a pushing forward of the logs.

372 171 The Vasele make fire by the twirling method, and at Ngalangi the same procedure was witnessed. In the twirling method two different kinds of wood are used, soft wood for the base and hard wood for the twirling stick. The twirler used at Ngalangi was a piece of cane into the end of which a piece of hard white wood was secured by binding. Ngonga, my interpreter and informant, thinks that any man of the Ovimbundu could make fire by the twirling method if the necessity arose, but the performance witnessed at Ngalangi led me to doubt the truth of this statement. The operator

undoubtedly knew the apparatus and the method, but he appeared 372
to have lost the dexterity which is necessary for a rapid moving of the 171
hands from the bottom of the twirler to the top. There was consequently a long period of smoldering before the flame appeared.

Among the Vachokue a little wooden box of tinder, a piece of quartz, and an iron blade are carried for fire-making. From an Esele man a bag containing tinder and quartz was obtained.

The making of fire ceremonially in connection with ritual and sacrifice is described among the functions of the medicine-man, because the sacred and profane uses of fire are quite distinct.

Tobacco is a very important item of trade. The cultivation is a 249
domestic industry followed usually by women but to some extent by 462
men. In former days when the Ovimbundu traded extensively in Africa every man had a field of tobacco which he himself cultivated. At the present time each man is likely to have a mound of tobacco plants in the middle of a corn field (Plate XXIX, Fig. 1). Women do sometimes cultivate tobacco near their huts, but in this case the little plantation must be strongly fenced. Goats are numerous, and they eat the leaves of the tobacco plant with avidity.

Toward the end of September, when the rains begin, tobacco seed is sown on a patch of ground a yard square to raise seedlings which are planted out in October. A few flowers only are left to produce seed. As a further effort to improve the quality of the tobacco many of the lower leaves are removed. The cutting of leaves intended for use as tobacco is done by men in the months of February and March; women and children assist if the field is large.

After the midrib has been removed from each leaf, the leaves are suspended from the roof in a bundle. At the end of five days, when the leaves have turned brown, they are twisted into a long straight roll which is hung in the sun for three days. At intervals the roll is twisted in another direction. This gradually exposes all parts of the leaves, so that the drying is thorough. There are three methods of making up the rolls: *ombola* is an oval roll; *ongalo* is the round coil;
ocine is the name given to tobacco which has been dried and twisted 276
round a stick. Tobacco-pipes are varied in size and design (Plate XV, Figs. 1–3); those for men are larger than those used by women. A mixture of tobacco and hemp is smoked in a water-pipe made from the horn of a cow. Details of structure and ornament are given under "Wood-carving."

In order to make snuff a piece of dried tobacco is slowly baked near the fire on the end of a pointed stick which is turned frequently.

276 [531] The snuff is pounded and placed in a small wooden box of cylindrical shape. Usually the box is ornamented with incised, burned patterns. The Ovimbundu of Bihé add ashes of wood to their snuff, so producing a mixture called *ulelemo*. The Ovimbundu of Elende usually use the [249] snuff without adulteration. Two main species of tobacco plants are grown.

Women smoke in all parts of Angola. The Ovimbundu do not chew tobacco, neither have I seen it so used elsewhere in Angola. Boys and girls are not allowed to smoke before the age of thirteen years.

576 [834] In the *ombala* of the Vangangella near Ngalangi, I asked a girl for her pipe which I desired for my collection. The interpreter took the pipe when she proffered it, explaining that, according to local custom, I had asked for the girl. If I took the proffered pipe *from her hand* I accepted her. Another social custom associated with tobacco is the passing of the communal pipe from hand to hand in the men's council house.

276 171 Ngonga, my interpreter, says that he has never seen an Ocimbundu woman smoke hemp, but he has seen a woman of the Vangangella (people to the east of the Ovimbundu) smoking hemp. Hemp (*epangue*) is cultivated only by the Ovimbundu men who smoke it. Pure hemp is smoked in the water-pipe which is not passed from hand to hand. Only tobacco is used in communal smoking. Smoking of hemp or tobacco consists of a few deep inhalations; there is not usually a prolonged placid smoking. When hemp is placed in the bowl of the water-pipe it is covered with large grains of sand or a piece of tin. This intervening substance prevents the hot coals from coming into contact with the hemp. The object is to secure slow ignition.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231- The principal domestic animals are cow (*onjindi*), ox (*ongombe*, which is also the generic name for cattle), bull (*onui*), sheep (*omeme*), goat (*ohombo*), pig (*ongulu*), dog (*ombua*), chicken (*osanji*) (Plates LV, LVI, LVII).

492 The transport animals, donkey, horse, and mule, are not used by the Ovimbundu of Elende and not to any extent by Ovimbundu of other parts; but in the south of Angola the Vakuanyama have sturdy ponies and well-kept mules. The ox when ridden by Portuguese is provided with a leather saddle which is very comfortable if covered with a blanket. The brass stirrups are broad and massive. Through the septum of the bullock's nostrils there is a short brass rod to the ends of which the reins are attached (Plate XXX, Fig. 1).

I have seen an Ocimbundu male riding an ox without saddle. A cord was passed through the animal's nose to serve as reins. 492

The Portuguese name for horse is *cavalo*, a word which the Ovimbundu use in the form *okavalu*, though there is an Umbundu word *ocingongovala*, which means "going with his neck up." The Umbundu words for donkey and mule are *ocimbulu* and *omula*, respectively. 192

Generally speaking, the ears of animals are not clipped, neither are cattle branded or otherwise marked to indicate ownership, but sometimes the ears of pigs and goats are cut to aid identification. When asked why the tips of the ears of dogs are mutilated an Ocimbundu will say that a dog with uncut ears does not hear when called (Plate LVI, Fig. 2). 231

Not many families own large herds of cattle among the Ovimbundu, and I did not see a big kraal until I was in southwest Angola. Cattle, which are a measure of wealth, are used for paying fines, making funeral feasts, paying debts, and securing wives. The cattle throughout Angola are well-developed, handsome animals (Plate LVII, Fig. 1). The bull remains with the herd the entire year; there is therefore no particular season for the birth of calves. Usually cows are not milked by the Ovimbundu, consequently these people have no milk, butter, or cheese. The Vakuanyama of the south milk their cows and churn butter in calabashes slung on a pole. 233 556 [171]

The Ovimbundu say that milking the cow makes the calf thin, but where the idea of milking the cow is borrowed from the Portuguese the Ovimbundu have a procedure which is as follows: The calf is allowed to suck for a few minutes in order to deceive the cow; then the milker begins his work. At intervals of a few minutes the calf is allowed to suck in order to continue the deception. 234 [177]

Cattle are killed at the funeral feasts of the rich, and the horns of the slaughtered animals are generally mounted on a pole in the vicinity of the grave (Plate XLVI, Fig. 2). [765]

The horns of the cow may be used for making water-pipes in which tobacco is smoked, or they may be employed as magical horns when filled with medicine. The hide is pegged out in the sunlight for one day after it has been scraped; it is then rolled and kept until required. When about to be used, the skin is soaked in water for one day. The hide is used to cover the tops of stools, to make pouches and to manufacture bags for carrying corn. In bygone days each king had a wooden box covered with hide, which contained his powder and metal when he went to war. The cow's tail is used 237 281 290

straight lines. The legs show the usual flexion of the knees and a 532
shortening which is out of proportion to the body length. The lower limbs of most Angolan figures have these characteristics. The body of this figure is hollow and the head detachable. The incised headdress is imitative of the coiffure of Vachokue women.

Cangamba, a village in eastern Angola, is a confluence of tribal 171
elements, namely, Vambuella, Luchazi, Babunda, and Vachokue, whose physical appearance, hairdressing, tooth mutilation, and tribal marks differ considerably. The man who sold the figurine brought it furtively. He was an Ocimbundu, but the work is of
Chokue origin. The figure, I am informed, was filled with medicine, [755]
then placed near a patient who was undergoing curative treatment.

The figurine (*ngeve*) of a woman having a number of dark feathers 484
attached to her back has only one use. A caravan setting out for a 778
long journey is accompanied by a medicine-man whose outfit includes 787
such a figurine. Should the caravan leader be in doubt when choosing between two paths, the medicine-man sets up the image at the parting of the ways. He kneels before it and asks questions, then plugs his nostrils in order to make replies in a falsetto voice supposed to come from the figurine. Thus advised respecting the route to follow, the caravan continues its journey (Plate XXI, Fig. 5; p. 156).

The wooden figure (Plate XXI, Fig. 3) is of exceptional interest 326
because of its connection with the blacksmith's craft, which is asso- 775
ciated with introductory rites for apprentices. In former days a newly initiated blacksmith was expected to disappear for a period during which he killed a man. On returning to the work of his forge the blacksmith made a wooden figure of which this example, one of five obtained, is typical. The spirit of the murdered man took up its abode in the effigy and in this way helped with the work. The figure, which is of the usual dimensions, namely, 36 cm high, has the greater part of its surface covered with reddened earth (pp. 159–160).

Two figurines (Plate XXI, Figs. 1, 6) were obtained from 171
women of the Vachokue tribe in the village of Ngongo, Ngalangi. 842
Here the Vachokue and the Ovimbundu mingle to such an extent that customs are no doubt transferred from one culture to the other. These wooden images are used by childless women, or by women whose infants have died. The woman who sold these figures pressed them to her breasts to show the manner of use. People standing
around smiled and nodded their approval. A wooden figure of this [845]
kind is substituted for a dead twin.

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A common type of small figurine, some of which are female, others asexual, is represented by an illustration (Plate XXI, Fig. 2). Such little carvings are a normal part of the miscellaneous contents of a divination basket described in chapter IX. These figures have been obtained from Elende, Bailundu, and Caconda, all of which are centers of Umbundu culture.

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In addition to the figurines described, the collection contains many more whose use may be conjectured. The interrogation of Ovimbundu people indicates clearly that there are specific uses of wooden figures which are consulted by the medicine-man. The foregoing explanations illustrate the nature of the beliefs associated with carved wooden figures, but it is not always possible to elicit a clear account of the specific use of each one.

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Consideration of this aspect of the wood-carver's art has an important bearing on the culture contacts of the Ovimbundu. In studying this question I have instituted comparisons between these figures from the Ovimbundu of Angola and similar figures from the Kasai area of the Congo region (chapter X). The publications of the Musée Congo Belge provide illustrations for comparison with the figures in Field Museum's collection.

The carving of animal forms (Plate XIX, Figs. 1–5) is no more than a means of aesthetic expression resulting from accurate observations of animal life as recorded under "Nature Lore." Inquiry failed to show that figures of animals are, or were at any time, used in rites and ceremonies.

[643] The carrying of a carved stick is essential when a chief is visiting, attending a council in his own village, or receiving visitors. The ornamental paddle (Plate XX, Fig. 8) was owned by the chief of the capital village (*ombala*) of the Vangangella, near Ngalangi.

[765] At the death of a chief his staff of office, with his tobacco-pipe and sleeping mat, are placed in a small house where such relics of deceased chiefs are kept permanently (Plate XLVI, Fig. 1). Plate XX, Fig. 6, shows a staff of this kind which was preserved in a sacred house in the capital village of Ngalangi, and on the same plate are drawn short ornamental clubs which French ethnologists call *batons de promenade*, an appropriate name because of their use as part of the full dress equipment.

[276] The Ovimbundu have specialized in the carving of small objects, for, in addition to clubs and staffs, tobacco-pipes and snuff boxes are often elaborately carved (Plate XV, Figs. 2, 4).

The water-pipe of the Ovimbundu consists of the horn of a cow into the side of which a short hollow pipe stem is introduced; at the top of the stem is a clay bowl for the reception of tobacco, or a mixture of tobacco and hemp. The wide end of the horn is plugged with clay, while a hole is made at the tip in order to provide a mouthpiece. A gourd water-pipe, similar to that used by the Vachokue, is also found among the Ovimbundu. 276

Cylindrical snuff boxes are ornamented with incised, burned, geometrical patterns. The lid is usually attached to the box by a leather thong. One large snuff box is ornamented with three well-carved female figures. The smoker's equipment is sometimes carried in a leather pouch fastened on a waist belt, or the container may be a hollow cylinder of ivory with a leather cap at each end. 276 531

To this information respecting the smoking and snuff-taking outfit of the Ovimbundu, some observations on the pipes and snuff boxes of other tribes should be added. When making a journey from Cangamba to Saurimo I seldom met an Ocivokue man who was not carrying a gourd water-pipe for the smoking of tobacco and hemp. Such pipes are usually ornamented with brass nails and are finely bound with thin brass wire (Plate XV, Fig. 3). One long pipe from Ngalangi has a pair of metal tongs attached for taking charcoal from the fire in order to ignite the tobacco (Plate XV, Fig. 1). A pipe with two bowls, closely resembling some Zulu patterns, was smoked by an Ocimbundu woman at Ngalangi. The Vachokue make snuff boxes from a yellow wood, which they ornament by burning portions of the surface in such a way that the yellow color is here and there visible. 276 171

Both men and women of the Vakipungo and Vakuanyama tribes carry snuff boxes of conical shape on their leather waist belts. At the top and bottom such snuff boxes are neatly bound with brass or copper wire.

DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

At an early age girls become accustomed to the use of the V-shaped pounder which is made from hard heavy wood (Plate XXXVI, Fig. 2). The small end of the shaft is a convenient thickness for grasping in such a way that the knuckles are on the under side of the shaft. This is the very reverse of what appears to be the natural grip. Women use the pounder with an easy, circular swing so that the flat round surface comes into contact with the grain on the rock. Endurance in this work is remarkable, and there is no doubt that 412

412 fatigue is avoided by the method of holding and swinging so that the work of crushing is done by the weight of the implement.

412 Two less usual methods of pulverizing grain are by use of a long
252 pestle, which is worked up and down in a heavy wooden mortar as shown by Plate LXXXIV, Fig. 1, in which Vachokue women are so employed, and the crushing of grain with a cylindrical stone which is rolled on a flat slab. This latter method I judge to be very old, for on a pre-Umbundu site encircled by stone walls I have seen flat slabs of stone and cylindrical rollers. Some of the flat slabs were worn extremely thin in the middle and a few were perforated by the friction.

It is noteworthy that there are rocks especially reserved for the
pounding of grain with the wooden mallet. Such rocks are to be
[782] found close to every village, and the dedication of a new rock for this purpose requires the killing of a chicken whose blood is sprinkled on the rock.

252 Work of this kind is begun before daybreak. From that time to
[512] sunset the pounding of the wooden mallets, accompanied by the singsong of the women, marks the progress of the day's work. At intervals the pounded grain is sifted through the hands and spread out on a basket-work tray, which is shaken to separate the fine meal. The unbroken and partly broken grain is replaced on the rock for further pounding. A small brush of grass is used for bringing together the grain which is dispersed by the blows.

412 The sole implement used in agriculture, which is entirely in the
● 171 hands of women, is the hoe. Of this implement there are several
[862] variations according to locality. The Ovimbundu and others of Ngalangi employ the form illustrated in Plate XIII, Fig. 10. The long handles measuring 85 cm no doubt reduce fatigue by minimizing bending. Both hands are used, and, furthermore, the increased length of the handles must give a greater leverage. The smaller hoe used by Ovimbundu women of Elende has short handles only 51 cm (Plate XIII, Fig. 9), while that from the Esele country is distinguished by a broader blade and still shorter handles only 36 cm in length.

412 Included in the outfit of every Umbundu home is the heavy wooden floor beater. This implement, which is fashioned from a single piece of wood, consists of a narrow handle, round in cross section, and a flat portion for beating the moist, newly made, mud floor of the hut. The total length is about 83 cm.

412 Not only the carpenter, but almost every Ocimbundu man possesses an implement which may be readily adapted as ax or adze (Plate XIII, Fig. 2). The wooden shaft, from 50 to 70 cm in length, terminates in a narrow grip at one end, while the other end expands into a large oval knob into which a circular hole is bored. The strong iron blade, one of the main products of the local forge, can be removed. If the round tang of the blade is inserted so that the cutting edge is in the same plane as the shaft, the implement is an ax. On the contrary, insertion so that the cutting edge is at right angles to the shaft converts the implement into an adze. When placed over the shoulder this implement is used for carrying utensils in a [482] fiber bag (Plate XXVIII, Fig. 1).

415 [244] Gourds are of three main kinds, which may be found growing on the ground or resting on the roofs of houses at the ends of the climbing stems that bear them. *Ombenge* is a gourd which is narrow in the middle. It is often converted into a dipper for ladling liquids. The narrow neck is the handle, while a round hole is cut in the larger part so that the dipper can be filled with liquid. *Onganja* is round, or perhaps oval in form. There is a size used as a measure of capacity. *Onganja* can be used as a ladle by fixing it at the end of a stick. *Olukuembo* has a round body and a narrow hook-shaped neck; like the gourd *ombenge*, it is used as a ladle.

531 415 Gourds are elaborately decorated with incised and burned designs (Plate XII, Figs. 1–6). Usually these patterns are geometrical, but human figures and animals are sometimes included. Decorated gourds from Bailundu, used for containing beer at a wedding, are among the best examples of their kind (Plate XII, Fig. 6). The owner of a decorated gourd takes great pains to repair a crack with rattan, which is threaded through holes bored in the edges of the fracture. A large gourd is sometimes carried in a native-made net of vegetable fiber.

POTTERY

323 171 A large and varied collection of pottery has been acquired from the Ovimbundu, the Vachokue, and the Vasele. The shapes and styles are best indicated by the illustrations in Plate XIV, Figs. 1–5.

[462] Among the Ovimbundu, only women make pots, which are inferior in workmanship to those of the Vachokue and the Vasele. At Elende, among the Ovimbundu, I was surprised to find a man making pottery. Further inquiry showed that he had learned his craft when young in the Vachokue country of eastern Angola. This man, whose work was not copied at all by Ovimbundu women, was regarded as a specialist whose products were in great demand.

323. specialist whose products were in great demand. Instead of making
171 crude patterns with a piece of gourd, as do the Ovimbundu women,
[531] he presses a brass bracelet round the rims of the pots. The bracelet is deeply indented with geometrical patterns which appear on the clay (Plate XIV, Fig. 5). This man selects a very fine clay for his work, his products are symmetrical, and a polish is given with a smooth pebble after baking. Like all other potters of Angola, this artisan has no knowledge of the potter's wheel.

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531 The vessels made by Vasele women, among whom the trade is confined to female specialists, are unlike the products from any other part of Angola. The chevron design is characteristic, so also is the ornamenting of the pot by laying on strips of clay below the rim. This is appliqué work which may consist of only a few bands of clay, or the strips may pass repeatedly round the pot until one-half or two-thirds of the surface has been covered (Plate XIV, Fig. 2).

323 At Elende two Ovimbundu women were observed during the pot-making processes (Plates XXXIII, XXXIV). Woman *A* built up the pot in a basket lined with wet leaves. Woman *B* pounded the clay on a stone with the heavy wooden pounder used for pounding corn on the rocks. Between the two women was a gourd of water in which *A* moistened her fingers. Operator *B* poured water on the clay which she was pounding. *A* made a cup of clay five inches in diameter and four inches deep which served as a base on which the pot was built up by the coiling process. This cup was placed in the basket containing moist leaves.

The rim of the cup was built in height and breadth by the addition of rolls of clay supplied by woman *B*. As the rolls of clay were laid on the edges of the pot, the inside was smoothed with a piece of gourd. Meanwhile the outside of the pot was supported with one hand. Shaping of the pot proceeded by applying smaller and smaller rolls of clay as the neck of the pot was approached. Gentle smoothing pressure forced out the greatest breadth of the pot just below the base of the neck. A pause was made to allow a partial drying before the neck was built up. Ornamentation consisted of making deep incisions with a piece of gourd while the pot was still wet. During these processes there was constant wetting of the hands.

The pots were sun dried, then fired several at a time by placing them in a kiln of dry grass. Polish was given to a pot while it was still hot by covering the surface with liquid made from a tuberous root, during which process the pot was quickly turned on a stick.

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171 Among the Ovimbundu are to be found baskets which they themselves seldom copy. These examples are from the Vachokue country of eastern Angola. The Vachokue specialize in making winnowing trays and rectangular baskets which are twilled by passing each weft over two or more warps.

By this technique, combined with the use of brown and black weft and warp, a great variety of geometrical patterns is produced. Trays of this kind vary in diameter from 50 to 200 cm. The Vachokue also make large strong trays in which honey is exposed to dry.

In the neighborhood of Cassanga wicker-work baskets are made. The warps or stakes are rigid while the more flexible wefts bend in and out. At this place there are both Ovimbundu and Vachokue inhabitants.

Women of the Vakuanyama in southern Angola make exceptionally neat little conical baskets by lashing coils very tightly. The lashing is done in such a way as to leave the outer surface covered with small chevron-shaped designs.

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285 There is an intrusion of European influence which tends to mar the work of the Ovimbundu and other native craftswomen. Soft dyes produced by methods described are sometimes replaced by brightly colored, imported dyes; old ribbons from typewriters are soaked in order to extract coloring. The Ovimbundu are imitating European forms of basketry in a few centers, though the native method of coiling is still used.

WEAPONS

411 The bow of the Ovimbundu is made of hard red wood which takes a high polish after use. It is round in cross section and tapers considerably toward the ends. The length is usually 150 cm, not an inconvenient size in view of the fairly open bush through which the hunter has to make his way. The bowstring is made of a thin strip of twisted hide, which is looped over each end of the bow by a slip knot made of two half-hitches. A shoulder at each end of the bow shaft prevents the slip knot from passing down the shaft. In some examples only one end of the bow stave is notched. Usually, after completing the slip knot, the hunter leaves a surplus of bowstring which is wound round the shaft. One bow which is not notched has rattan wound round the stave to prevent the loops from slipping.

The bow for shooting bird arrows is small and is used only by boys; the string is of twisted vegetable fiber.

The foregoing description applies to all bows collected in Elende, 411
an Umbundu center; neither is there any appreciable difference 171
between these bows and those of the Vachokue of the area from Cangamba to Saurimo in Lunda. The bows collected in the Vachokue region are on the average 10 cm longer than those collected at Elende, a structural difference probably connected with the heavier arrowheads used by the Vachokue (Plate XVII, Figs. 1-9).

The Vakuanyama of southern Angola make and use a bow which bears very little resemblance to those already described. The arrows, too, are entirely different from those used by the Ovimbundu and Vachokue.

The lengths of three bows collected at Mongua, a typical Kuanyama center, are 111, 123, and 123 cm. The bow stave, which is made from a monocotyledonous wood, is 5 cm broad in the widest part, while the cross section is a flattened ellipse. The bowstring is of twisted leather, looped at each end for slipping over the ends of the bow shaft (Plate XVII, Fig. 8).

According to L. S. B. Leakey (A New Classification of the Bow [114]
and Arrow in Africa, *J.R.A.I.*, LVI, 1926, pp. 259-294), the bows and arrows of Angola have not been studied. I am inclined to place the bows of the Ovimbundu and Vachokue with Leakey's "knotted string bows" (pp. 266-269).

Leakey states that the technique employed in stabilizing flight forms the best basis of classification of arrows, but so far as Angola is concerned, the shapes of arrowheads form a basis of classification according to locality. Ovimbundu, Vachokue, Vakuanyama, and Vasele, have distinctive patterns. Naturally there is borrowing of patterns where Ovimbundu and Vachokue intermingle, but, even so, there are distinguishing signs of Vachokue workmanship. The information respecting bows and arrows of Angola is best presented in paragraph form, and comparison of types is facilitated by reference to Plate XVII, Figs. 1-9.

The following arrows are used for killing birds: 411

(1) Elende. Ovimbundu boys use a wooden arrow with a heavy 223
blunt head which is carved into five nodules (Plate XVII, Fig. 3). The head is tanged into a reed shaft and bound there with fine fiber covered with wax. The feathers are whole, bent over, and tied. The number of feathers varies considerably in different examples.

(2) Kipungo. The Vakipungo have a wooden-headed arrow with nine well-carved barbs (Plate XVII, Fig. 7). The head is socketed

223 411 fairly tightly into a reed shaft bound at the junction to prevent further splitting of the shaft. There are four whole, untrimmed feathers at the butt; these feathers are bent over and bound.

(3) Vakuanyama. Wooden arrows having eleven sets of barbs are in use. The head is bound into a reed shaft with strong gut. Another type of wooden arrow has three sets of barbs with three barbs in each set. There are four whole feathers at the butt.

(4) Vasele. The Vasele use an arrow, pointed with fine pieces of sharp bamboo, for shooting lizards (Plate XVII, Fig. 9).

411 171 The foregoing information (1-4) relates only to wooden arrows which are used by boys when hunting birds. The following paragraphs summarize the structural details of arrows used by men, and the data are arranged to call attention to differences in the patterns of arrows used by several principal tribes of Angola.

The Vasele make the arrow shafts of hollow reeds, and into these the narrow, ovate, iron heads are tanged and bound in position with fine bark which is not waxed. Three unsplit feathers are bent and tied to the shaft with fine bark fiber. The nock at the butt of the arrow is rectangular in shape and 0.3 cm deep. No quiver was observed.

The Ovimbundu form arrow shafts from hollow reeds, the average length of which is 76 cm. All arrowheads of iron are tanged and the tangs are inserted in the hollow reeds. A binding of fine bark fiber is given, and this is covered with wax. From five to ten feathers are used for each arrow. The feathers may be split or they may be left in the natural state. The trimming of the feathers is roughly executed. The depth of the rectangular nocks is 0.5 cm, and splitting of the shaft is prevented by binding the nock with fine bark. No quiver was observed.

The Vachokue of Cangamba, and thence northward to Saurimo, make arrow shafts of hollow reeds whose average length (79 cm) is a little in excess of those made by the Ovimbundu. The shapes of the iron heads are shown in comparison with those of the Ovimbundu (Plate XVII, Fig. 1). All arrowheads are tanged and bound into the hollow shaft with bark fiber which is then waxed. The feathers are split and bent with a neatness much greater than that shown in examples of Umbundu arrows. The rectangular nocks are 1 cm deep. No quiver was observed.

The Vakuanyama make solid wooden arrow shafts having an average length of 65 cm. The arrowheads of iron are socketed.

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Three prevailing shapes of arrowhead are conical, narrow ovate, and V-shaped. The quills are split, bent over, and tied. The usual number of feathers used for each arrow is eight. The workmanship is neat and symmetrical. The rectangular nock is 0.5 cm deep. A quiver of hide is used.

In addition to the assagai (Plates XIII, Fig. 8; LXVIII, Fig. 2) commonly used by the Vakuanyama and adopted to a very limited extent by the Ovimbundu, there are spearheads which originate in eastern Angola among the Vachokue, whose blacksmiths are expert.

Typical spearheads were collected at Munyangi where Ovimbundu and Vachokue cultures meet. The leaf-shaped blade and tang have a length of 30 cm and an average breadth of 4 cm across the blade (Plate XVI, Fig. 1). The upper part of the tang, made for insertion into a wooden shaft, is round in cross section while the lower part is square. The blade, which has a keen edge, is well graded from a central, raised midrib to the margin.

I did not observe many spears among the Ovimbundu and Vachokue. The former value highly a type of assagai which is owned by every man of the Vakuanyama. At Elende and Bailundu I obtained from Ovimbundu men assagais identical with those collected in the Vakuanyama country. The assagai is made entirely of iron: it has a narrow, leaf-shaped iron blade which is socketed to the iron shaft. The butt is sharply pointed. The shaft passes through a cow's tail on which the tuft of hair remains. Consequently the iron shaft is encased in hide for part of its length.

At Elende I obtained from Ovimbundu men two spears said to be a product of the local forge. The flat, narrow, leaf-shaped blades were tanged into very rough wooden shafts. Wax was thickly smeared over the junction. The workmanship, which followed the tanged method of hafting arrowheads, was extremely crude.

By far the most distinctive knives made in Angola are those manufactured and used by the Vakuanyama of the extreme south (Plate XVI, Fig. 10). I have never found this knife in use elsewhere in Angola, and similar types are to be found only among the Ovambo to the south of the Vakuanyama.

These knives vary in length from 48 cm to 73 cm, with a breadth of 5 cm to 7 cm across the scabbard. The general outline is a well-balanced ellipse. The wood used is hard in texture and dark red in color. On one side the scabbard is left open in such a way as to display the blade, which is long, keen, and tapering. A leather thong attached to the back of the scabbard provides means of attach-

411 171 ment either to the arm or to the belt of the wearer. The crescent-shaped expansion at the tip of the scabbard is sometimes held between the toes while the blade is withdrawn.

● A small knife obtained from an Ocivokue man near Saurimo in the province of Lunda, northeast Angola, has a black wooden haft neatly bound with fine brass wire (Plate XVI, Fig. 2). The steel blade of Vachokue workmanship is eminently suitable for the purpose for which it is employed, namely, that of carving pipe bowls and snuff boxes, which are sometimes elaborately incised. The knife has a distribution from Saurimo to Cangamba, an area of intermittent Vachokue culture, but I have never observed it in the possession of an Ocimbundu. Men of the Ovimbundu have knives of somewhat poor quality. The roughly made wooden haft is attached to a blade which is protected by a sheath of lizard skin. More frequently than not, an Ocimbundu does not carry a knife; neither does he appear to have borrowed knives or the art of making them from the expert Vakuanyama or Vachokue, who are reluctant to part with their tools and weapons.

A knife used by Vasele men in the region of Vila Nova de Selles, in the hinterland of Novo Redondo, resembles one used by the Bangala of the Congo (Plate XIII, Fig. 1). The distribution of the implement, which is used for cutting branches from trees, is local in the Esele country. I have never seen such a knife in use among the Ovimbundu or in any other part of Angola. The preservation of this peculiar form, in common with other specialized traits of Esele culture, is due to isolation of the Vasele among hills difficult of access.

LEATHER WORK

282 [411] Leather pouches worn on a broad leather belt are part of the essential equipment of a hunter. The pouch usually contains scrap metal and powder for muzzle-loading guns. This type of firearm is, under present Portuguese regulations, difficult to obtain and still more difficult to furnish with powder, which is forbidden to the native. Consequently such a pouch may contain only a pipe and tobacco.

The pouch itself is either square, rectangular, or semi-cylindrical in shape (Plate XIII, Fig. 6). The hair may or may not have been removed from the hide. Some examples show signs of careful workmanship in stamping cross-shaped patterns. Brass-headed nails are used for decorative effect on these pouches among the Ovimbundu of Elende and as far south as Huila.

In addition to pouches, hide is used by the Ovimbundu for the 282
seats of four-legged wooden stools. Before stretching the hide over
the wooden frame the edge of the leather is cut into stripe which are
interlaced on the under side of the stool (Plate XVIII, Fig. 1). There
are few evidences of the hide having been dressed; usually the hair
is attached. The Ovimbundu understand the dressing of hides in
a crude way. The hide is soaked, after which the inner surface is
rubbed with ashes. The hair is scraped away and the hide is tightly
pegged out. Hide was formerly used for covering wooden boxes
in which a king carried his powder and possessions to war. Scraped [534]
hide is used to form the tympanum in tubular wooden drums.

In only one part of Angola, notably in the south among the 171 ●
Vakuanyama, is leather used as clothing. Women wear pleated 282
skirts of hide and several broad leather belts, while the men have [291]
small leather aprons in front and behind. Men only are the leather 462
workers. The hide is soaked and trampled under foot for many
hours in order to soften it and make it pliable; the hair is not removed.
Before leather clothing is worn it is thickly greased with a mixture
of fat and red powder from *takula* wood (Plates LXV, Figs. 1-3;
LXVII, Fig. 1).

SPINNING AND WEAVING

My interpreter Ngonga remembers the use of a heavy upright 286
loom about twenty years ago, but this loom is not used at the present 177
time among the Ovimbundu. The Ovimbundu have been in contact
with Europeans for three centuries. This has not been a close and
permanent contact, but it has been sufficient to account for the
disappearance of a one-time essential art. There are in Elende some 287
very fine raffia palm trees, but no use is made of the leaf fiber for 171
manufacturing clothes. Bark cloth is not made by the Ovimbundu
of Elende, but I have seen the Vangangella and Ovimbundu of
Ngalangi engaged in stripping, beating, and preparing bark for use
as clothing, which is formed of one piece wound round the body.
The bark cloth is not dyed or decorated with patterns.

Frequently at Elende men are seen engaged in spinning cotton 283
which is used for repairs, and not for fabricating garments. The 524
cotton is obtained from a shrub which has reddish leaves and yellow
flowers. The cotton may be seen protruding from the calyx in the
months of June and July. The man who is winding holds high in his
left hand a slender stick which is wrapped for a length of two feet
with fluffy cotton. All work of pressing and twisting the cotton into
a thread is done by the thumb and index finger of the right hand.

Kukululu or *sekululu*. These terms are applicable to my father's father's brother, my father's father's brother's wife; my father's father's sister's husband; and my mother's father (the reciprocal *ocekulu* describes the reciprocals, brother's son's son; husband's brother's son's son; wife's brother's son's son; daughter's son). 601

Maikulu. This designation, which is derived from *mai*, meaning mother, and *kulu*, an old person, is applied to my father's mother (reciprocal, *ocekulu yange*, son's son). *Maikulu* also means my father's father's sister; my mother's mother; my mother's mother's brother's wife; and my mother's mother's sister (the reciprocal is *ocekulu* which equals the English reciprocals brother's son's son; daughter's son; husband's daughter's child; and sister's daughter's child).

This completes the second generation of ascendants.

NOTE: Ngonga's wife uses the names *maikulu* and *kukululu* for those relatives of her husband to whom Ngonga himself applies those terms. These relatives call Ngonga's wife *ocekulu*.

TABLE D

(*See Table E IV and V, also Table F II, IV and V*)

SOME OF NGONGA'S DESCENDANTS

Nuwelo or *uveli* is my first-born son. Other sons are *omola*, meaning child. *Omola ulume* means a male child. *Omola ukai* is a female child. *Uveli* also means a first daughter (the reciprocal for these terms is *tate*, meaning father).

Omolange means my child. I apply the word, not only to my own children, but to my elder brother's son (reciprocal, *tate*, father's younger brother); to my elder brother's daughter; and to my younger brother's son.

Ndatembo. The word is applied to my son's wife; my daughter's husband; my elder brother's son's wife; my elder brother's daughter's husband; and my younger brother's son's wife (the same word *ndatembo* is used for the reciprocals of these terms; namely, husband's father; wife's father; husband's father's younger brother; wife's father's younger brother; and husband's father's elder brother).

The foregoing classificatory system of relationship is not peculiar 601
to the Ovimbundu, but is a cultural trait of many Bantu-speaking 171
and some Sudanic-speaking Negroes. The similarity of the Umbundu system to those of surrounding peoples in Rhodesia and the Congo will be pointed out in chapters dealing with culture contacts.

When describing marriage rites reference was made to the fact 591
that a wife goes to live near her husband's relatives; the system is therefore patrilocal. The limited family consists of husband and 592
wife (or wives) with their children. The greatest number of wives [595]
observed in the family of a commoner was four, and in the family of a king eleven. A household sometimes contains adopted children, [597]
also domestic slaves (pawns) who are working to pay off debts for [567]
their maternal uncles. An extended family may include a grand- 596
father and his wife, his sons, their wives and children, and his unmarried daughters, with classes and nomenclatures mentioned in the foregoing tables.

The phrase *epata lia tate* (or *alase*) means "family of my father" 613
and includes all relatives on the father's side. The words *epata lia*

601 *Sekulu* includes the father's father, the mother's mother's brother, and the mother's mother's sister's husband. The terms *sekululu* and *kukululu* were used by Ngonga as being synonymous, and therefore they have the same connotation. With regard to the term *maikulu* Ngonga seemed clear, but in reply to questions concerning the reason for having the terms *kukululu* and *sekululu*, he was evidently confused. At last he said, "It does not matter, they are the same people." Ngonga never hesitated in giving the reciprocal for all these terms, which is in every instance *onekulu*. These terms may have been correlated with different functions which have now become obsolete.

604
601 The two most important collateral relatives in the parent's generation are the father's sister (*aphai*) and the mother's brother (*manu*). The term for father's sister means "female father." As such her relations to ego are similar to those of a father, consequently it is not considered right to marry her daughters. The mother's brother, on the other hand, is without doubt ego's most important relative. The two are linked by a series of reciprocal duties and obligations. Marriage of a mother's brother's daughter, or a mother's brother's widow, is a correct procedure. The value of the more important reciprocal duties is indicated in the following sections on law and government.

602
171 There was no possibility of devoting more time to the matter of relationship terms, but there is here sufficient to indicate the remarkable persistence of the kinship system in spite of three centuries of contact with the Portuguese and other Europeans. Moreover, the information gleaned by interrogation of Ngonga and his wife gives the main points for comparison with systems of a similar kind that have been given for Ashanti, Uganda, and Rhodesia, by Rattray, Roscoe, and Smith and Dale respectively. These kinship systems are the same both in general principles and in considerable detail.

601 The foregoing notes and tables were studied by Mr. Zachary Taylor of the University of Chicago, who prepared Tables E and F. Mr. F. Eggan offered useful criticisms. The Arabic numerals on these charts refer to the numbers used to designate terms of relationship on the list on page 199. The ego or speaker is Ngonga, [115] my interpreter, whose direct line of relationships is shown in Table E, while Table F indicates the terms used by Ngonga for his wife's relatives. The levels numbered in Roman numerals on Tables E and F indicate the generation stratification as follows:

338 feet. A trench about eighteen inches deep is dug for the poles
(*akoso*), which form the framework. The wattle work is tied to the
uprights with strong strips of red bark before the plastering is begun.
341 The old type of Umbundu house was round, but most of the houses
● 171 now show a transition to square or rectangular forms (Plate XLIV,
Fig. 2).

[531] Exterior wall-painting is found only in the northern districts of
Angola (Plate LXXXIX, Fig. 2). Between Saurimo and Malange
in the north, rectangular, painted houses are frequently seen. Wall-painting is a cultural trait from the Congo region where that form of decoration is common.

796 The method of forming a village site and the right of the chief to
621 allot land have been described. The house of the chief is the first
to be erected. There is drinking of beer to celebrate the completion of the village, and the pots of beer have to be stirred with the claws of chickens; these have been killed to provide blood for sprinkling the walls of the new houses. Village chiefs go through the process of stirring and drinking. The medicine-man drinks first, then he offers the cup to the chief.

344 The communal house is built by the united efforts of all men of
476 the village. Ngonga says, "The king never helps with any of the
[485] building, but he talks very much." The guest house is also built
644 by communal labor. The king of the *ombala* of Ngalangi told me
that a king always uses the house of his predecessor, which must not be pulled down. No repairs are permitted and the house is used until it is absolutely untenable.

354 The interior of a commoner's house has three hearth stones in the
342 middle of the floor, which is of hard mud beaten down with a heavy
wooden implement called *ocikandulo*. The ceremonial placing of the
stones has been described in discussing marriage. There is no chimney, consequently the walls and roof are blackened with smoke.
The junction of roof and walls provides pockets for the reception of
small articles. On the floor near the walls may be several large beer
pots. The dark smoky interior is almost intolerable. The sleeping
352 room is sometimes separated from the living room by matting. The
bed is made from a cross-work of sticks supported on four Y-shaped
posts, one at each corner. On the bed are coarse sleeping mats and
possibly a modern blanket.

356 The miscellaneous contents of the hut are gourds, dippers, cooking
252 pots of several sizes, pounders, and baskets. In many of the huts
I found cooking going on in the general room, but frequently a sepa-

says, "Here's your mother." The children look and sing, "She's not there." They throw sand in that direction. The leopard repeatedly leads to places where the mother is not hidden, while each time the same words are repeated and sand is thrown. Finally the leopard leads the children to the place where the mother is hidden. Then the mourning song is changed to a glad dance. The children clap hands and sing, *Mai Cisangu weya. Mai Cisangu weya* ("Mother Cisangu has come"). 524

After transcribing the music of this song Dr. Herzog reported, "The melodies are rather simple, moving within a restricted range, with a plain rhythm, the same short unassuming melodic fragment being repeated as long as the game may require it, or changed slightly to suit the words. It should be kept in mind that these are children's songs; other songs of the Ovimbundu are probably much more elaborate. The manner of singing songs by a solo and a responding choir is highly characteristic of African singing. Thirds as seen in the transcriptions on page 218 are often used in the music of west Africa. 533

"In the musical notations, *S* stands for Solo, *Ch* for the Choir. *A* as a sign above a note indicates that the tone is sung approximately a quartertone higher than noted. It indicates a short transitional tone of slight rhythmic or melodic significance and of uncertain pitch."

There is but one example of children's dolls in Field Museum's collection. This was obtained from a little Ocimbundu girl of Elende. The doll is made from a corncob which is draped in blue cloth of European origin such as women wear. My interpreter said that the dressing of dolls made from corncobs is a general custom at the time of cutting the corn. In view of the frequent occurrence of agricultural rites among Bantu Negroes, the use of dolls led me to inquire into the possibility of there being some kind of fertility cult associated with a corn-mother concept, but my inquiries met with negative results. 524 [241]

There is an Umbundu word for game (*omapalo;* plural, *olomapalo*) which is used for games in general. The verb *oku papala* means "to play." As a rule, male adults do not play games, but they have the game of mancala which is called *ocela*. This is difficult because it involves quick counting. Mancala has a wide distribution as shown by the fact that it occurs in Africa, Syria, the Malay Archipelago, South America, and the West Indies. At Dom Manuel in the southeast of Angola I saw an arrangement of holes in the ground which was used for this game. There were four rows of fourteen holes in each row. The counters were nuts from an oil palm. [171]

rattle made by fixing seed pods on a stick. Rattles of the latter 534
type are sometimes tied to the ankles during dancing and they usually form a part of the medicine-man's outfit (Plate XXII, Fig. 4). From Cangamba a basket rattle of dumb-bell form was obtained; the basket-work receptacles at each end of the connecting rod contain hard seeds (Plate XXII, Fig. 1).

At Bailundu three Ovimbundu flute players met a party of 533
visitors whom they accompanied around the native village under 433
the leadership of a chief. The men played the flutes continuously 534
except when the chief was speaking. The wooden flutes varied in length from 20 to 50 cm. The instruments were end-played, and the smallest of them had seven stop-holes. The visitors were conducted from the village by this small orchestra which is a permanent guard of honor for the chief (Plate XL, Fig. 1).

At Cangamba the Vachokue have an instrument consisting of 534
eight slats of wood which vary in length and thickness. These 171
sounding boards are attached to two parallel cords which are kept tight by two assistants. The performer taps the wooden slats with two sticks terminating in balls of wax. This is the well-known marimba, but the gourds which are usually fastened under the slats of wood were absent in this instance.

The instrument *ocisanji* is played well by only a few men. It 534
consists of a wooden board, often well carved, on which there are from eight to nineteen thin keys of metal. These can be pushed backward and forward in their bridge so as to alter the vibrating length and pitch of the note. The pitch may also be varied by placing small balls of wax on the under side of the keys. When the instrument is held between the palms the player's thumbs are in position for stroking the keys. Sometimes *ocisanji* is played inside a wide gourd (Plate XXII, Fig. 5).

The musical bow is called *ombumbumba*. The bridge, which is a small stone, or a piece of wood placed at one end of the bow, keeps the string taut. The gourd is tightly fastened to the bowstring with a loop of string. One end of the bow is sometimes placed in the player's mouth. The left hand holds the bow and presses the gourd to the body, then releases it a little from time to time in order to assist tone and resonance. The player holds in his right hand a reed which is tapped lightly on the bowstring, while the thumb and forefinger of the left hand are used occasionally in pressing on the string to alter its vibrating length (Plate XXII, Fig. 6).

tribes, for everywhere these rites aim at securing ideas of unity, coop- 867
eration, conformity to tribal law, and admission to adult tribal life. 881

The methods used to achieve these aims are seclusion, circumcision, physical suffering, direct tuition, dancing, hunting, a change of name, and finally a ceremonial return to the tribe with adult status and the right to marry.

The following notes give details of ceremonies witnessed at 114
three centers; namely, Katoko, Ngalangi, and Cangamba. For 171
comparison of these rites with others performed in eastern Angola 881
reference should be made to the books of A. Schachtzabel, and to
the papers of H. Baumann (III), and F. and W. Jaspert, whose
observations were made independently of each other and of my
own investigation.

The dances of the novices at Katoko, where there is a mixed 881
population of Ovimbundu, Vangangella, and Vachokue tribes, are
part of the final ceremonies following circumcision and seclusion.
The social group formed by this collective circumcision, seclusion,
and dancing, is called *ovinganji*, which is the name of the initiatory
rites themselves. A boy who has been initiated is not allowed to
become friendly with one who has not suffered the ceremony, and
all boys who were circumcised at the same time preserve a sense
of unity by dancing in a company and moving about together for
twelve weeks after their return to the village from which they came.

Circumcision, which is prohibited by the Portuguese govern- 881
ment, is still practised secretly in some regions. When circumcision 304
is carried out by primitive methods serious infection may result
from the lack of clean instruments, for the knife is, of course,
unsterilized.

After the operation the patients are subjected to harsh treatment during the period of cure that follows. The circumcised are secluded in a wooded area. Food provided by the parents is placed on the bank of a river near which the initiation camp is built, and after the parents have gone away the boys bring their rations from the river to the camp. Before eating, the boys are obliged to give profuse thanks to the men who are acting as tutors. In some regions there is no food ration for the boys, and the rule is that each boy must subsist on what he is able to catch and collect with his hands.

Each boy has a male guardian who takes care of him after the operation. Those who have been operated upon are not permitted to wear clothes, nor are they allowed to warm themselves until quite healed. Any infraction of the rules results in a severe whipping.

881 mony at which the older initiates dance while the novices clap
their hands.

I witnessed the dance of initiated boys at Ngongo, where the
[292] costumes resembled those I had seen at Katoko. At night a youth
brought for me a set of initiation costumes (Plate LXXVIII, Fig. 1),
which resembled those worn during the dance; this he did with great
secrecy.

While at Ngalangi, the initiation of girls was investigated. After several days of negotiation with a village headman three female guardians of the girls came from the bush. The illustrations (Plate LXXVII, Figs. 1, 2) show the attitudes of these women and their decoration. There were three male drummers in the orchestra and several women, who sang and clapped their hands. On emerging from the bush the females moved toward the orchestra with their backs toward the players. As there were about two hundred yards to cover, this slow backward movement occupied a long time, since the three
women did not take more than a few inches at each step. The dance
[535] itself was a slow, shuffling, swaying movement, made while the
bodies of the performers remained inclined forward and their heads
were bent so that it was almost impossible to see their faces. The
women wore no clothing except loin cloths. Each female was
[302] plastered from head to foot with alternate bands of red and white
clay smeared thickly. These three females are the women who act
[864] as instructors for the girls during isolation in the bush where they
receive sexual and domestic instruction.

881 The seclusion of girls covers a period of one month. During
304 this time the novices suffer no harsh treatment though an operation
is performed, possibly excision of the clitoris, but I am not certain
on this point. It was also stated that a corncob is introduced into
the vagina. The tribe practising this ceremony for girls was the
[171] Vanyemba, living close to the Ovimbundu at Ngongo near Ngalangi
in central Angola.

881 In order to corroborate further the two accounts of initiation
171 ceremonies for boys I journeyed to Cangamba in Moxico, eastern
304 Angola. The position of the two first centers visited (Katoko and
Ngongo) is on the border line where Ovimbundu and Vachokue
mingle, and although there is a mixture of these and other tribes
at Cangamba, the culture, language, and physique of the Vachokue
predominate. A description of the circumcision ceremonies witnessed
at Cangamba is given below for comparison with the accounts
resulting from visits to Katoko and Ngongo.

The compound in which the initiates had been confined for 881
three months was a circular enclosure made of light branches and 304
leafy boughs, at the narrow embrasure of which stood a guardian 171
of the boys, who permitted entrance. In the middle of the large enclosure were seven small cages, each of which was just large enough to allow one boy to lie on his back, and I was informed that the boys lie thus for two weeks after circumcision (Plate LXXX, Fig. 2).

The ages of the boys appeared to be from ten to seventeen years (Plate LXXX, Fig. 1), an observation which agrees well with that made at Katoko and Ngongo. The disparity of age among the novices at each center where initiation was observed bears out the statement that initiation ceremonies are held at irregular intervals, but not more frequently than once in four years.

During confinement in the large enclosure the novices had made masks and costumes (Plate LXXIX, Fig. 1), and when they were pulling on the coarse netting suits, which fit tightly, I observed that circumcision had been performed thoroughly, evidently some weeks ago, for the wounds were healed. Masks were obtained, and these the instructors of the boys were careful to wrap in bark cloth, at the same time requesting me not to show the objects to women.

A few days later these boys returned to their village to dance while wearing the costumes which had been made in the enclosure. At Cangamba the final ceremony lasted twelve hours amid great excitement, including ceaseless drumming and dancing. One boy, [522]
who wore a skirt on his fiber costume, lifted this to display an artificial penis of great size (Plate LXXIX, Fig. 2). This organ he grasped in his hand while chasing the women and girls, who ran away screaming and laughing.

At this ceremony there appeared stilt-walkers (Plate LXXXI, Fig. 1) and a medicine-man, a member of the Luchazi tribe (Plate LXXXI, Fig. 2).

Circumcision among the Bdjok (Vachokue) has been witnessed [113]
by C. P. Holdredge and described by Kimball Young (*Amer. Anthr.*, XXIX, pp. 661–669). This ceremony took place in the far north-
east of Angola. The man described as the *magish* of whom women [756]
are afraid, but who is known to the initiates, corresponds to the Uluchazi medicine-man seen in the final ceremony at Cangamba. Of this grotesquely dressed person the men and boys took no notice, neither did he pay attention to them. On the contrary he chased women, who ran away screaming. Kimball Young's description of the enclosure where boys are confined, and his account of the

881 short fiber skirts worn within this enclosure by the novices, are in
●171 agreement with the observations made at Cangamba. There is
304 also a close resemblance between the independent accounts of
[114] H. Baumann and F. and W. Jaspert for the Vachokue, also P. A.
Delille and E. de Jonghe for the southwest Congo.

The question of initiation rites, past and present, among people of pure Umbundu culture is important. The matter is more fully dealt with later in discussing cultural contacts and cultural losses, but there are a few points which should not be omitted here.

At Caconda, an Umbundu center of western Angola, Père R. P. Laagel stated that only two years ago he had visited an initiation camp of Ovimbundu boys in the hope of persuading them to return to his mission school at Caconda. My informant stated that the boys were circumcised, beaten, and confined to an enclosure for several weeks. Those who cried out when flogged received a double portion of blows. Poisoning is the fate of a boy who reveals the secrets of the initiation camp to women or uninitiated boys. This is the most direct testimony I have received concerning initiation rites among unmixed Ovimbundu.

881 From Bailundu and Elende I have obtained slight evidence of
292 initiation rites. At the former place, which, like Elende, is a center
171 of the Ovimbundu tribe, fiber costumes were obtained. The mask
from Elende is unlike those used at Cangamba, Katoko, and Ngongo. The fiber suits are, however, no different from costumes used at these places. Initiation ceremonies are not held at Elende today, and beyond Dr. Ennis's statement that circumcision rites have been revived in the past fifteen years of his long residence in the neighborhood of Elende, I have no evidence of ritual.

881 The data relating to initiation of boys in Angola suggest loss
177 of the initiatory rites from Umbundu culture, until only a few old
masks and costumes, along with attenuated ritual, remain sporadically. On the contrary, in eastern Angola and particularly among the Vachokue, who are farther than the Ovimbundu from coastal influence, initiation ceremonies flourish. At present there is occurring a penetration of initiation rites from the Vachokue area into east-central Angola, which is a region of cultural admixture.

867 The foregoing pages have described certain institutions and social forces which collectively bring individuals into conformity with tribal standards of conduct. The influences at work in this direction may be direct or indirect.

539 mother leopard returned, the jerboa brought out the only cub four times. On the fourth day the jerboa ate the last of the cubs.

When the mother leopard came home the jerboa was terrified, so said, "The cubs are not very well, you must go in the room to feed them; I cannot bring them out." When the leopard had gone into the sleeping room the jerboa ran quickly into his hole in the ground.

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538 [113] These tales from my records were all told to me by Ngonga. It is true that some of the stories appear in the Umbundu reader "Olosapo Vioku Likisa Oku Tanga" (Kamundongo, 1914). But when this book was printed Ngonga was already well acquainted with all the stories therein, and many more. Most of the tales were, and are today, an integral part of the Umbundu language.

[113] My own inquiries had the same result as those of Chatelain in revealing a preponderance of stories of animals. Yet W. C. Bell was able to collect several tales relating entirely to the adventures of human beings (*Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, XXXV, pp. 116–150). At times there is a didactic theme running through a tale, which emphasizes the value of courage, presence of mind, and perseverance. A sense of humor is shown in the conversations of animals and the tricks which the smaller creatures use to the discomfort of the larger animals.

538 171 ● [113] Comparative study of stories told by the Ovimbundu with those from other parts of Africa opens up a field of research, especially in view of the long caravan journeys of the Ovimbundu. Chatelain narrates the Angolan story of the frog who boasted that he could ride the elephant, and contrived to do so by a clever ruse (*Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, VII, p. 62). The Nigerian story of the tortoise who fulfilled the same boast is told by A. B. Ellis (Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast, London, 1894, p. 265).

The Ovimbundu have the story of the tortoise who made a wager with the antelope respecting a race which they agreed to run. The tortoise won the wager by placing one of his brothers at the winning post. The Umbundu version is given in "Olosapo" (p. 53), and there is a Cameroon version.

The tug-of-war story which tells of a trick played against the hippopotamus and the elephant is known to the Ovimbundu. The story has a wide distribution with local variations. Sometimes the elephant and the hippopotamus are unwittingly made to pull against one another by some small clever animal such as the monkey or the hare. In the version given by H. S. Stannus (Harvard African Studies, vol. III, p. 329) the hare perpetrates this ruse. The version given by Smith and Dale (The Ila-speaking Peoples of Rhodesia, vol. II, p. 377) makes the contestants a hippopotamus and a rhinoceros, but the hare again arranges the tug-of-war. E. Dayrell (Folklore Stories from Southern Nigeria, London, 1910, p. 104) gives another variant of the tug-of-war story, which states that one end of the rope was made fast to a palm tree. The hippopotamus was under water so he could not see the object against which he was pulling. He thought he was tugging against the tortoise as arranged.

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Umbundu stories are humorous and didactic, while some indicate a process of rationalizing. An example of the latter kind is found in the story explaining why the bat flies at night. Dayrell (pp. 36, 51) gives two different versions of this rationalizing tale.

These folklore stories of the Ovimbundu give information respecting vocabulary, structure of the language, powers of observation, customs, and ideas of conduct.

I have found no stories which illustrate the grafting of elements from two different cultures. In some parts of Africa tales may be heard which contain blended elements from a Negro and a Semitic culture, as in Nigeria. But assimilation of features which were foreign to the story at its cultural origin does not occur in the tales given here, with the exception of the European story of the greedy dog, which is an importation.

The Ovimbundu were noted for their long caravan journeys, which were undertaken in territory occupied by tribes of the same linguistic family (Bantu), a fact which may account for the similarity of Umbundu and other Bantu versions of the same tales.

cultural factors. The transitions from the Congo basin to the 174
Benguela Highlands are of a gradual kind with respect to climatic conditions, physical features, and culture. Therefore, there are no compelling conditions which caused the Ovimbundu suddenly to abandon traits already acquired before their southern migration.

Nevertheless, several traits of Congo culture which must have been known to the Ovimbundu have disappeared from their tribal life, while other factors have been emphasized in importance because of a change in locality. The disappearance of traits and the welding of others is discussed in chapter XII. The present section is concerned with summarizing the points of resemblance and difference between the Congo culture and that of the Ovimbundu.

The books of J. J. Monteiro mention several traits which are 171
a link between cultures of the Congo and the Ovimbundu culture of the Benguela Highlands. The Mushicongos chip all their teeth to fine points (vol. I, p. 262), a practice which resembles that of the Umbundu-speaking Vasele. Monteiro describes the musical bow, the friction drum, and the rubbing of a grooved piece of wood with a stick (vol. I, pp. 139–141). All these musical devices are used today by the Ovimbundu far to the south of the areas described by this writer. When describing the Esele country which forms a cultural pocket of the Ovimbundu people, I have previously referred to Monteiro's mention of the extinguishing of old fires and the ceremonial creation of new ones at the death of a king (vol. II, p. 167); also the functioning of the poison ordeal with use of the bark of *Erythrophlaeum guineense* (vol. I, p. 61). The former of these customs is carefully observed by the Ovimbundu at the present time, while the latter is practised furtively.

A part of Angola that is frequently omitted is the Cabinda Enclave to the north of the Congo estuary. Overbergh describes this territory in "Les Mayombe"; the Mayombe are a forest people living near Boma. They use red *tukula* wood for bodily ornament. There are special names for the first- and second-born of twins (p. 217). Circumcision is practised (p. 233). The poison ordeal is used with the drug Kasa. There is a classificatory system of relationships (p. 259), but without sufficient detail for comparison with that of the Ovimbundu. The most artistic figurines, which are carved in wood or ivory, are sometimes filled with a mixture of clay and blood as "medicine" (p. 219). The Mayombe believe in the existence of a supreme being named Ngambi but they have no cult for him; there is, however, a very active belief in a world of invisible spirits who work through apparitions, cries, and displacement of objects (p. 307). All these traits are features of Umbundu culture (see also "Etudes Bakongo," by R. P. J. van Wing).

J. H. Weeks (V) describes a number of traits which are typical of Ovimbundu culture. Mat-making by sewing long reeds together is pictured (p. 88) in such a way as to identify the method with that of the Ovimbundu. The Bakongo use a stick for making sounds by rubbing on notched bamboo (p. 179). The Bakongo have the dumb-bell basket-work rattle (p. 250), and the bull-roarer as a plaything (p. 126). The friction drum is used (p. 131). There are circumcision lodges for boys, also bachelors' clubs near San Salvador. The function of the bachelors' club corresponds with that of the *onjango*, the council house of the Ovimbundu. The graves of hunters are specially cared for (p. 181). The poison ordeal *nkasa* is carried out with an infusion made from the bark of a tree; vomiting indicates innocence. Nzambi, as among the Ovimbundu, is a vaguely conceived, powerful spirit who receives little attention; there are no prayers and no sacrifices in his honor (p. 276). Descent is reckoned on the mother's side. There is a kinship system of classified relationships; thus *ntekolo* means son's son, son's daughter, daughter's son, and daughter's daughter. *Nkaka* means mother's father, mother's mother, etc., in such a way as to show a parallel between *nkaka* and the *kukululu* class of the Ovimbundu.

R. E. Dennett has mentioned several ethnological points which serve further to connect the Congo culture with that of the Ovimbundu. Dennett's account deals with the Bavili, a branch of the Fjort of the Loango region to the north of the Congo estuary. The father and his brothers are *tata*, the grandchild class is *batekulu* (Umbundu *onekulu*); descent is matrilineal. A man must not marry the daughter of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, because such children are his brothers and sisters (p. 36). Girls are secluded at puberty in the "paint house," and the red coloring is beaten from them with switches (p. 38). The women I saw at Ngongo giving a demonstration of the decoration and dances of a secret society were elaborately painted from head to foot with alternate bands of red and white. The mother's brother may sell his sister's children to pay his debts (p. 41). Inheritance of property is in the female line, to the sons of the deceased man's sister. The heir to chieftainship is the eldest brother of the deceased, and the next in line of succession is a sister's son. The wife and children of the deceased are not entitled to any property (p. 46). The poison ordeal is given with powdered bark administered by the medicine-man, and vomiting is a sign of innocence (p. 25). Nzambi, who is the supreme being from whom everything originated, corresponds to Suku and Kalunga of the Ovimbundu, for like these high beings he is remote and otiose. /7/

When inquiring into the ethnology of the Kasai valley, situated to the northeast of the Benguela Highlands, a large body of literature is available. Each book or article confirms cultural resemblances between the social pattern of the Ovimbundu and that of the Congo basin, but not all points of comparison are to be found together in the works of one writer.

In an article on the "Ethnology of the South West Congo Free State" E. Torday and T. A. Joyce describe the use of manioc by *the Bayanzi who scatter the flour on water, so making a paste.* To eliminate the poisonous principle, bitter manioc is soaked in water for three days, after which it is peeled, dried, and pounded in wooden mortars (p. 138). *Tukula* wood, which is well known and widely used in Angola, yields a red powder that is employed for corporeal decoration by the Bapindi and the Bakuba (p. 147). The Vakuanyama of southern Angola use the powder mixed with fat as an unguent for their bodies and a dressing for leather clothing.

The evidence of Torday and Joyce shows that children of the Bakwese owe obedience to their maternal uncle; for example, boys who wished to accompany Torday had to ask permission from this relative (p. 150). The practice of cupping, use of friction drums and the marimba, are found among the Bakwese, who test the guilt of an accused person by giving a poisonous concoction prepared from the bark of *Erythrophlaeum guineense;* innocence is proved by vomiting.

Torday and Joyce (I) call attention to several traits which are common to the cultures of the Bambala and the Ovimbundu. Skin puncturing and the introducing of decayed rubber into the cuts are practised (p. 401); this is a common usage among Ovimbundu women. The poison ordeal is practised. Water-pipes for smoking tobacco are made from gourds. During agricultural operations hoe culture by women follows clearance of the ground by men. Women use a short iron-bladed hoe, and the result of their labor is the production of manioc, bananas, sweet potatoes, haricot beans, and peanuts (p. 405).

Rats are shot with blunt wooden arrows. There are great communal hunts for large game. The grass is fired, and at the conclusion

171 of the hunt horns and skulls are presented to the village fetish, a practice which is comparable to the mounting of skulls and horns outside the hut of an Umbundu hunter whose grave is later decorated with similar trophies.

Among the Bambala a hunter's bow is *buta* (Umbundu *uta*, "a weapon"). Exchange of blood seals an alliance between chiefs. Kinship is reckoned chiefly in the female line and children belong to the eldest maternal uncle. Widows never inherit property; this passes to the eldest son of the eldest sister. The word for father is *tata*. Personal names may be changed at puberty or later at the pleasure of the owner (pp. 410–412). Poison for the ordeal is made from the bark of a tree imported from the mouth of the Kwilu River (p. 416). The name for the soul is *mityima* ("the heart," Umbundu *utima*). In all these points the Ovimbundu resemble the Bambala.

Torday and Joyce have reported on the culture of the Bayaka (II). This tribe has the friction drum, but in a form rather different from that of Angola. The poison ordeal with the use of *Erythrophlaeum guineense* is employed. Straw shelters are built over graves which are covered with broken pots. Ovimbundu graves of this kind were photographed near Caconda (Plate XLVII, Figs. 1, 2).

The Basonge live near the Baluba close to the Lualaba River, and the report of C. van Overbergh has been consulted for information which shows cultural resemblances between the Basonge and the Ovimbundu. The Basonge use short ornamental clubs called by van Overbergh *batons de promenade.* Such clubs as these are one of the most artistic features in the wood-carving industry of the Ovimbundu. The clubs are too ornamental for use as missiles, and the name given by van Overbergh (plate I, fig. 13) is an appropriate description.

Hoe blades and the method of hafting are the same for the Basonge and the Ovimbundu. The wooden stools and gourd tobacco-pipes of the Basonge have forms well known to Umbundu wood-carvers. Manioc is the principal food of the Basonge (p. 125). Fire is made by twirling the point of a stick on a baseboard. Only rich chiefs have a few cattle, and the word for ox is *ngombe* (Umbundu *ongombe*).

I have examined the evidence of J. H. Weeks (III, IV) with regard to the Bangala (Im Bangala) of the southwest Congo region. The Bangala use the word *nganga* for "medicine-man," but for the Ovimbundu *nganga* is a witch, while *ocimbanda* is the legitimate practitioner of healing and divination. If sickness visits a house of the Bangala the fire is extinguished and a new one is kindled. Women who have prepared a corpse for burial are purified by sitting in a circle of fires (p. 114).

Manioc, of which there are several varieties, is the principal food, and the methods of agriculture agree well with those followed by the Ovimbundu, since beans, yams, maize, and peanuts are cultivated. Caterpillars are used as food. Milk is tabooed by all Bangala, who regard it with great abhorrence, though no reason is given. The best hunters among the Bangala are specialists who are prepared for the hunt by the medicine-man (p. 123).

Fish are stupefied by poison of a vegetable kind which is scattered on the surface of the water (p. 127). The Bangala have the poison ordeal (p. 434). I have reported the use of the word *ekandu* by the Ovimbundu, who employ the term to denote any evil action which causes pain to others. If there is sickness in the family, the Baloki say, "There is an *ekandu* in the family" (Weeks, IV, p. 390), and the witch doctor removes this *ekandu* ceremonially.

The Baloki use painted wooden posts which are placed near the houses of the sick so that the spirits of sickness may be driven into them; the spirits are then appeased with offerings of food and drink. From Bailundu I obtained a carved wooden post in the form of a human figure; this was set on a path near a village so that offerings might be made to the spirit within the post if an epidemic attacked the village (cf. Weeks, p. 390).

The Umbundu game of shooting at a tuber has been described; apparently this amusement is like that of the Baloki game as described by Weeks (p. 405). Baloki youths cut the root of a plantain into the form of a wheel, and the players are then divided into two competing parties as among the Ovimbundu; but Baloki boys throw bamboo splinters at the wheel, they do not shoot arrows as do the Ovimbundu. Mancala is played (p. 414) as it is among the Ovimbundu, who call the game *ocela;* but I am not informed concerning the details of the game among the Baloki and Ovimbundu respectively.

H. von Weissmann (II) indicates that his route lay up the Congo to the junction with the Kasai. He then turned up the Kasai and traveled through the country of the Bambala, the Bassongo, and the Bakuba; thence along the valley of the Sankuru. He gives his impressions of the Bihéan (Ovimbundu) caravans from Bihé in

(7) the Benguela Highlands (p. 145). "They carry on the most shameful trade imaginable and undertake longer journeys than any other Negroes of the west coast. They exchange their prisoners for ivory among the Bakuba tribes." Weissmann journeyed among the Wawemba of northern Rhodesia where he noted the poison ordeal. He states that it was customary to settle a dispute between two persons by drinking a poisonous draft made from a bark, and the one who vomits is cleared of suspicion. Weissmann's accounts emphasize the importance of Umbundu contacts through the caravan trade.

M. W. Hilton-Simpson, who accompanied Torday for a period, has noted several points of importance in the establishment of cultural resemblances between the Ovimbundu and tribes of the Kasai (pp. 225, 257, 259, 282). The Bambala play end-blown wooden flutes like those from Bailundu, but there is no evidence to show that the Ovimbundu play a nose flute as do the Bambala. The eating of dogs by the Bapénde is a widely distributed cultural trait of the Congo, and the Ovimbundu follow this practice. Initiation masks pictured by Hilton-Simpson bear a resemblance to those of eastern Angola. The Batatela smoke hemp in a gourd water-pipe as do the Vachokue and some of the Ovimbundu. The short friction drum used by the Batatela is held under the arm. In the form of the drum and the method of holding there is resemblance to the Umbundu custom. The Batatela have the flat drum called *ocingufu* by the Ovimbundu (p. 52). Painting the exterior surfaces of walls of houses is a southern Congo custom followed by the Batatela. This practice has extended into Angola as far south as the Malange-Saurimo line, and even to the Bailundu-Huambo area, but south of the halfway line across Angola I do not recollect seeing houses with painted walls.

In dealing with the evidence of culture contacts indicated by the text and illustrations of the "Annales Musée du Congo Belge," a condensed statement will call attention to the many identities between artifacts of the Ovimbundu and those of the southwest Congo. The following details, which are well illustrated in the "Annales Musée du Congo Belge," should be compared with Plates IX–XXII, showing similar objects made by the Ovimbundu.

Series III, II, fasc. 1: Carved wooden staffs for chiefs closely resemble those used by chiefs among the Ovimbundu (p. 70).

Carved wooden hair-combs are like those used by the Ovimbundu and the Vachokue (p. 82).

Initiation of boys who are isolated in the bush where there is ceremonial bathing and circumcision is a practice of eastern Angola (p. 81).

The oval wooden masks worn by initiates are similar to those of eastern Angola (p. 84).

The mancala board with twenty-eight holes, arranged four by seven, is of the form used at Ngalangi, central Angola (p. 86).

The Babende use the friction drum (p. 87).

Bashilele arrowheads are of Umbundu pattern (p. 98).

Use of red *takula* wood is common among the Bushongo (p. 165).

The wood-carving of the Bakongo and the Bashilele resembles that of the Ovimbundu. Faces are oval or triangular, and eyes are represented by narrow oval slits so as to conform in style and balance with the general outline of the face (p. 200).

Series III, II, fasc. 2, plates XXII, XXXI show reed mats made near Leopoldville. Such mats are made by Umbundu males, who call them *esaisa*.

The flat drum (*ocingufu* of the Ovimbundu) is played by the Batatela. The Bahuana use the long narrow-necked flour sifter which is in common use among the Vachokue, though not among the Ovimbundu (plate VIII).

Series III, I, fasc. 2, plate XLVIII, figs. 586–587; plate LIII, fig. 619; and III, plate XXXIII, fig. 470: The general style and pose of the figurines on these plates is exactly like the work of the Ovimbundu. Legs are short, knees are flexed, hands are clasped on the abdomen, and necks are elongated, while hair and cicatrization are clearly shown. All these figures are the same in form and function as those used by the Ovimbundu. Plate XXII, figs. 342, 354, 357, describes horns of antelope, also tortoise shells which are filled with medicine. The latter are provided with cords for suspension round the neck. Batatela war clubs are of the form used by the Ovimbundu (p. 65). These resemblances between work of the Ovimbundu and tribes of the southwest Congo is further shown by reference to illustrations by H. Clouzot and A. Level (L'art nègre, Paris, 1919).

Series III, I, fasc. 1: Mural decorations on houses resemble the designs on houses of northern Angola (p. 6).

The basket-work dumb-bell rattle is of the form used in eastern Angola (plate II, figs. 36–38).

Plate VI, figs. 123 A and B, indicates that the flat drum of the Ovimbundu is of the exact form used in the Kasai and Sankuru

●171 region. Plate XVI, fig. 284, shows long wooden flutes like thos of Umbundu pattern at Bailundu. Plate XIX, figs. 124 and 313, indicates that the musical bow with its gourd resonator is of the form used by the Ovimbundu.

The ethnographical catalogue of the Rijks Museum of Leiden shows many objects of the southwest Congo which are identical with those used by the Ovimbundu. Plate 193 pictures the sans and the marimba which are common to both regions. Plates 224, fig. 1, and 225, fig. 1, show tobacco-pipes and a mancala board of Ngalangi pattern. The mancala board from the Sankuru region has twenty-eight holes arranged seven by four. Plates 75, fig. 10, and 236, fig. 4, indicate that curved knives used by the Bangala are like those used by the Vasele of northeast Angola. Plate 227, fig. 2, shows that head-dresses for initiates closely resemble those worn by Vachokue boys at Cangamba, eastern Angola.

174 This examination of the traits of Congo culture calls attention to numerous resemblances between the cultural pattern of the Congo region and that of the Ovimbundu of the present day. I think there is reason to accept the following factors of Umbundu life as a part of the Congo culture before the separation of the Umbundu-speaking peoples. The historical and geographical facts when considered in relation to the number of cultural identities fully support the thesis that the Ovimbundu are of the central African matrix of cultures.

On the material side resemblances are close, as the following summary will show. The Ovimbundu cultivate maize from which beer is made; they have manioc, peanuts, yams, sweet potatoes, and beans. Methods of agriculture and preparation of foods are similar. The animals common to both regions are the sheep, goat, chicken, and dog. The difference is the rearing of cattle by the Ovimbundu, who have also concentrated on the cultivation of maize to an extent not possible in the more densely wooded areas of the Congo basin. The use of dogs' flesh as food is common in both areas.

The musical instruments of the Ovimbundu are in keeping with Congo patterns in every way. Indeed, there exist few and only minor differences. Forms common to both areas are the *ocisanji*, a flat board with two rows of metal keys; dumb-bell basket rattles and gourd rattles; the friction drum; the marimba; wooden flutes; the flat drum *ocingufu*; the double iron gong; and the long tubular drum which is held between the performer's legs. Resemblances

439 177 The vertebrae of serpents strung together as a girdle are a cure for rheumatism (p. 237). A necklace of pythons' vertebrae was obtained from a chief of Ngalangi who wore the bones to cure that affliction. In Garenganze twins were introduced to the chief at a ceremony conducted by a female *ocimbanda*. The Ovimbundu welcome twins and one of triplets is given to the king.

171 E. Holub (II) mentions important traits of culture among the Marutse, a Rhodesian people who keep cattle. The Marutse have an aptitude for working in iron, horn, wood, bone, and leather. The masked dance at which performers wore tightly fitting jackets of netted fiber, with close-fitting sleeves, gloves, and stockings of the same material, would serve as a description of the costumes worn in the ceremonies observed at Cangamba in eastern Angola. Holub notes the use of the double iron gong at these dances (vol. II, pp. 168–170). The bark receptacle (p. 308) is the one commonly used in eastern Angola, and along the line from Saurimo to Malange.

The Marutse have the poison ordeal in which vomiting is a sign of innocence, the witness being the god Nyambe (p. 322). Gourd decorations of the Marutse and Babunda tribes show a technique comparable with work of this kind done by the Ovimbundu (pp. 305, 335). The practice of cupping is described by Holub (p. 325); so also is the custom of wearing wooden hair-combs (p. 349). These are cultural traits of the Vachokue and the Ovimbundu.

In his "Eine Kulturskizze des Marutse-Mambunda Reiches" Holub gives a few additional points which connect the Marutse culture with that of eastern and central Angola. The main instances are the technique in gourds (p. 81); the form and hafting of axes (p. 116); blacksmith's bellows and tongs (p. 129); the musical bow (p. 139); the board with metal keys (p. 138); the small friction drum, identical in pattern with my specimen from Elende (p. 140, fig. 70); a musical instrument consisting of a notched board which is rubbed with a stick (p. 142); tobacco-pipes made from the horns of animals and from gourds (p. 147); cylindrical snuff boxes and sticks for pounding snuff (p. 150, fig. 83); wooden hair-combs (p. 155, fig. 87); and wooden stools (p. 163, fig. 92).

All these articles, which are pictured by Holub as being representative of the work of the Marutse of Rhodesia, have their exact parallels in Field Museum collections from the Ovimbundu.

Perusal of "The New Africa" by Schulz and Hammar was not ethnologically fruitful except for a series of outline drawings

(p. 110) showing forms of arrowheads used along the course of the Chobe River, near the southeast border of Angola. One of the heads is of the form most common among the Ovimbundu, while the remainder are those in use among the Vachokue. Gourds are of the same shapes and decorations as those obtained from Bailundu by Field Museum expedition.

F. H. Melland describes the culture of the Bakonde of northern Rhodesia. He is particularly concerned with the Kasempa district bordering on eastern Angola, Katanga, and the Barotse country. The poison ordeal (p. 222) is in use; vomiting implies innocence. The small ceremonial ax is used by the Bakonde in divination rites such as I have described for the Ovimbundu at Bailundu and Ngalangi (p. 227). The Lunda people wear masks in connection with initiation ceremonies (p. 232). Medicines are mixed in the horns of the duiker and the bush buck (p. 232). The four-legged, skin-topped stool is the same as that made by the Ovimbundu (p. 280).

Melland's description (p. 235) of a rite performed by a belated Konde traveler in order to retard the setting of the sun, should be mentioned. The top of a small ant heap is stuck into the fork of a tree; this is the custom which prevails among the Ovimbundu of Elende, and it is also a Lamba practice (C. M. Doke, p. 288). The idea is unusual and I suggest that the Rhodesian rite may have been derived from the practice of Umbundu carriers. Yet, on the contrary, men of the Bihéan caravans may have imitated a Rhodesian custom; but the act is so peculiar that independent origin seems improbable.

H. S. Stannus mentions points which aid the working out of a scheme of culture contacts. Stannus describes the Wayao and other tribes near Lake Nyasa, which was an area familiar to caravans from the Benguela Highlands. The carving of wooden animals (p. 348) of no known significance is a favorite pastime in which the Ovimbundu are skilled. Gourd vessels ornamented with lines and triangles (p. 349) have a technique similar to that used by the Ovimbundu. The shooting of arrows having blunt wooden heads; preparing staked pits; use of mucilage for catching birds; poisoning fish; and making noose traps (p. 355), are all everyday usages among the Ovimbundu, as they are among the Wayao.

Eastern and east-central Angola are the regions where bark cloth is made and worn. The Angolan industry forms an extension of the craft as practised in Rhodesia and the southwest Congo basin. Stages of stripping bark from the tree and soaking and beating it with a wooden mallet are the same over a large area, but there are no painted patterns or other fine points of technique which aid the study of possible diffusions (Stannus, p. 343).

The following traits mentioned by Stannus have been recorded among the Ovimbundu. There exists the custom of opening graves to obtain portions of human remains for use as charms (p. 293); the poison ordeal is applied to human beings or to fowls (p. 296); the use of horns stuffed with medicine is common (p. 304); and divination by means of the small objects contained in a gourd resembles the method of the Umbundu diviner (p. 302). Stannus states that the gourd contains a number of small articles, each of which is named. In the divination gourd are small pieces of white earthenware which denote innocence, also bits of fiber from a sleeping mat to denote sickness. The Ovimbundu use a divination basket, not a gourd, for these symbolic objects, but otherwise the methods are the same.

The bark canoe and the dugout are used. Maize, cassava, beans, and peanuts are the principal crops (p. 346). There is ancestor worship combined with great fear of ghosts. The head of a family petitions a deceased relative, and the headman of a village intercedes with his predecessor's ghost. I have mentioned that a headman of the Ovimbundu brings out the head of a dead chief wrapped in oxhide, makes sacrifice, and asks favors. Stannus notes the seclusion and circumcision of boys at puberty, also the ceremonial use of bark cloth in these rites (p. 256). These observations from Nyasaland agree with notes made at Cangamba in eastern Angola. A menstruating woman sleeps on a mat away from her husband, and she is not allowed to prepare food (p. 234). These were noted as prohibitions for women of the Ovimbundu.

The classificatory system of relationship outlined by Stannus for the Nyasa region is the same as that of the Ovimbundu of Angola. A man may not marry a daughter of his mother's sister, but marriage with a daughter of his father's brother is a normal union (p. 236). The statement of Stannus (p. 239) with regard to the burial of a pregnant woman recalls the custom which prevailed until recent times at Ngalangi, where a sharp stake projecting from the surface soil rested on the abdomen of the dead woman. After the grave had been filled the stake was driven downward. Stannus says that before filling in the earth one of the gravediggers descends into the pit, and, after cutting the abdomen, he inserts the lower end of a bamboo, while the upper end is made to project above the surface of the grave. In Nyasaland and eastern Angola the alleged reason for this procedure is the prevention of death among other pregnant women. Twins are welcome and well treated (p. 239).

A corpse is tied to a pole with its limbs bound, and in this manner it is carried to the grave, accompanied by drummers. A widow watches by the corpse of her husband. At the conclusion of funeral rites fires are extinguished, and a new fire is kindled with the fire drill in the chief's house, from which distribution of the new fire is made. The ashes of the old fires, with the stones supporting the cooking pots, are taken to cross-paths and destroyed.

Cupping is practised (p. 289), and the vapor bath is used (p. 290). The patient, covered with a blanket, squats over a pot of water into which herbs have been dropped. Hot stones are added to the water until it boils and gives off clouds of steam. Wayao boys have the whipping top (p. 359); so also have the Ovimbundu. The Wayao warm their drums and add wax to alter the tone (p. 365). The conical rat trap of plaited cane, used for placing in grass which is fired, is that in use by the Ovimbundu (Stannus, plate XX).

When describing the Wayao culture, C. H. Stigand confirms many of the points mentioned by Stannus. Stigand describes the making of bark cloth (p. 119); the sewing of reed mats with a long needle (p. 120); and the importance of the maternal uncle, whose consent to the marriage of his sister's children is necessary (p. 122).

C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane describe the poison ordeal (p. 61). The Wawemba make their poison from the bark of *Erythrophlaeum guineense*, the tree mentioned so frequently in my summary of the Congo culture, in which this trait of the poison ordeal is common. A chief of the Wawemba goes to the bush accompanied by a medicine-man who is stripped of all clothing, and an offering of white beads is made to the tree from which the bark is taken. The bark is then given into the hands of a young child, who is carried to the village so that his feet may not touch the ground. As usual in this ordeal, vomiting is a sign of innocence.

The Wawemba practise cupping (p. 134). A man may not marry the daughter of his mother's sister because she is his sister (p. 172). The Wawemba carry a corpse on a pole. The king's corpse is wrapped in oxhide, and his bows, arrows, and spears are placed in a hut on the grave. Then an ox is killed to provide hide for binding the rafters of this tomb. Wives and slaves were formerly sacrificed at the death of a king. These customs are similar to those described for the funeral rites of a king of the Ovimbundu.

171 E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale describe tribes which claim that they are an offshoot from the eastern Bantu. This ancestry no doubt accounts for the presence of many traits which are characteristic of the culture pattern of the cattle-keeping areas of east Africa. The writing of Smith and Dale is important because it deals with a region in contact with the Congo, east Africa, and the Ovimbundu. The Wawemba and other tribes described by these authors are in contact with the Baluba and the Bambala, who have been in touch with the Ovimbundu from the earliest times for which any record exists.

According to Smith and Dale the tribes grouped as Ila-speaking peoples extinguish all fires after a funeral, while ashes from mourners' fires are collected and thrown away (vol. II, p. 142). This regard for ceremonial fire accompanies factors of the cattle culture wherever that occurs in east, south, southwest Africa, and the Benguela Highlands. The Ila-speaking people grow maize and beans (vol. I, p. 137); they smoke hemp through the calabash water-pipe (vol. I, p. 152); a conical basket fish-trap of Umbundu pattern is used (vol. I, p. 163); they peg out hides and scrape them; they also make twine by rolling fiber on the inner side of the thigh (vol. I, p. 185). Coiled basketry in which the coils are made of many strands of fine grass, also shallow winnowing trays, are like those used by the Ovimbundu (vol. I, p. 187).

Pottery is made by the coiling method (vol. I, p. 192). The method of carving stools bears a distinct resemblance to that of the Ovimbundu. The bases of milk vessels and stools show supports of peculiar shape which are triangular in cross section (vol. I, pp. 199–202). The Ila-speaking people have a classificatory system of relationships consisting of groups of grandparents, fathers, and mothers. Terms of address vary according to the relative ages of the speaker and the person addressed. *Wangu* ("older") is the term used by the Ovimbundu; so also is *tata* ("father"). Children of the father's brothers, and children of the mother's sisters, that is, ortho-cousins, are real brothers and sisters. The mother's eldest brother is the most important relative. The word *tata* is applied to all the brothers of the speaker's father. This is the system of the Ovimbundu in principle and considerable detail.

The Ba-ila play mancala (*chisolo*) with holes in the ground (vol. II, p. 233). They have the musical bow (vol. II, p. 263) and the metal-keyed musical instrument (Umbundu *ocisanji*) which is played in a gourd (vol. II, p. 265). The Ba-ila use the friction drum (vol. II, p. 265), which is an instrument of the Ovimbundu and /71/ several tribes of the southwest Congo. The marimba, made from eight slats of wood with gourds underneath, is well known in the north and east of Angola.

There is real similarity both in form and function between the /74 culture of Rhodesia and that of the Ovimbundu. This assertion does not rest on consideration of a few factors of a general kind. In addition to the weight of evidence afforded by the long list of similar factors detailed in this section, one must bear in mind the geographical proximity and the known historical connection of the areas under discussion. The following points are of primary importance in accounting for the similarity of culture patterns in Rhodesia and the highlands of Angola occupied by the Ovimbundu.

(1) Central Angola and Rhodesia have so many traits in common with each other and with the southwest Congo culture that together the three form a cultural harmony.

(2) Central Angola and Rhodesia have both derived factors from the cattle culture of east Africa, though by different routes.

(3) Rhodesia and central Angola have had prolonged direct contacts through caravan trade carried on by the Ovimbundu.

(4) In addition to diffusion there has been a convergence of cultures in Rhodesia and central Angola because of similarity of geographical conditions. Both are high plateau regions having a degree of heat and a rainfall suitable for the growth of maize and the rearing of cattle. Therefore these occupations have developed in both regions because in each locality there has been a need, favorable conditions, and a like response to physical conditions.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The principal tribes of this area are the Ovambo, Herero, Berg /77 Damara, Nama Hottentots, and Bushmen. The most important tribes to consider from the cultural point of view are the Ovambo and the Herero. Wandering bands of Bushmen occur in Angola, and here and there may be seen among the Ovimbundu individuals who appear to have a trace of Bushman blood; but comparison of collections and notes relating to the Ovimbundu with literature on Bushman tribes does not reveal any similarities. There has undeniably been some contact of Bushmen with the inhabitants of Angola, but Bushman influence has probably been very slight from a cultural and physical point of view (D. Bleek; S. Marquardsen, p. 109).

177 [197] The Ovambo include eight kindred tribes, all of whom are branches of the Bantu linguistic family to which the Ovimbundu belong. The Vakuanyama, who inhabit large tracts of southern Angola, are a numerous, warlike, pastoral branch of the Ovambo. The Vakuanyama are the only section of the cattle-keeping peoples of the southwest of Africa with whom I have made personal contact; but their culture is generally representative of that of the Ovambo and the Herero.

171 233 When making a journey southward from the country of the Ovimbundu in central Angola, there is a noticeable increase in the size of the kraals as the journey is continued. The first large kraal was observed near Kipungo, and when as far south as Mongua the wealthy cattle-keeping Vakuanyama were by far the most numerous people. Their total strength is probably about 55,000. I journeyed through the Kuanyama country in July, halfway through the dry season, but found that cattle were watered at deep wells from which men and women were constantly drawing water for the herds. Near Ondjiva, only a few miles from British South West Africa, the ruler of the Vakuanyama owned at that time 14,000 head of cattle.

After examining 1,200 objects collected in Angola, I feel sure that cultural contact between the Ovimbundu and the Vakuanyama is unimportant, so far as artifacts are concerned; but, if the inquiry turns to other aspects of culture, there is a more fruitful line of investigation.

Many beliefs and customs center in the keeping of cattle in east and south Africa. The typical cattle-keeping area begins with the Bahima in the vicinity of Lake Victoria Nyanza. The region extends down the eastern side of the continent, through the south and southwest into Damaraland. The Vakuanyama of southern Angola should be included in this area, which has homologies in respect to certain laws, ceremonies, economic customs, and religious beliefs.

The true pastoral area of the south of Angola extends at least as far north as Huila, where there is sufficient rainfall to produce good pasture in open country which is well adapted for raising stock. All the traditions of the Ovimbundu, along with the writings of Battell, suggest this southwest part of Angola as the line of entry for cattle. The Congo basin is not a pastoral country, and transportation of cattle from Rhodesia would necessitate the crossing of hundreds of miles of arid country in Moxico, eastern Angola. There remains, therefore, the cattle-keeping area of south and southwest

Angola as the source of supply for the Ovimbundu, who both traded 233 [171] ●
and made warfare with the south.

Therefore, reasonable ground exists for believing that the cultural 174
traits that the Ovimbundu associate with the keeping of cattle 233
have been taken over with the cattle themselves. The traits agree in principle and detail with the factors of the African cattle-keeping areas. The characteristics of this pastoral culture have been outlined by M. J. Herskovits (The Cattle Complex in East Africa, *Amer. Anth.*, XXVIII, 1926, pp. 270–272; 424–528; 630–664). I wish, however, to give prominence to the factor of sacred fire which is fundamental in the cattle-keeping culture. The importance of sacred fire in the ritual of the Ovimbundu has been demonstrated, and this trait is a most important link between the typically Negro culture of the Ovimbundu and the Hamitic pastoral culture of east Africa.

A brief summary of the salient facts of the cattle-keeping culture, such as is found in east and south Africa, will be given. This will be followed by a statement of the cultural traits associated with the keeping of cattle among the Ovimbundu in order to demonstrate similarities of custom.

In describing cattle-keeping people of the Lakes region J. Roscoe (VI) outlines a pre-pastoral condition characterized by agricultural pursuits which still survive near Ruwenzori and Elgon. Of the pastoral people the most conservative are the Banyankole of Ankole, among whom all social customs fall into line with the keeping of cattle. Milk is the principal food, and strong purgatives are taken after eating vegetable food, which is regarded as unclean. Agriculturists are a serf class who are not allowed to have milk. A woman of the pastoral class would not accept a husband from the agricultural people, because they are social inferiors. In such a community one finds a strict preservation of customs centering in cattle. Bulls are killed beside the grave of a chief, while cows are dedicated to the dead chief at whose shrine their milk is offered daily (p. 21).

Roscoe's account of the worship of the dead in Uganda (III) further explains customs that are characteristic of pastoral communities in which the connection between cattle-keeping and kingship is important. The death of the king is not announced and the fact of death is kept secret for several days until preparations for the succession have been made. "The fire is extinct" is a euphemism which refers to the death of the king. The king is buried in a hut surrounded by a fence. This hut is later visited by the new king

233 174 who cleans and decorates the jawbone of his predecessor, then preserves it in a case of lion skin. Among the Basoga the skull of the king is cleaned and stitched in cowhide. It is then placed in a temple where a medium lives in order to converse with the ghost of the king (p. 43). The Bunyoro line the grave of a king with cowhide, and the slaughtered cows are said to serve the dead king with milk in a spirit world.

Roscoe (I, p. 101) states that the Bahima wrap the body of a king in the skin of a freshly killed cow; the deities are not often invoked, but attention is paid to ancestral ghosts (p. 109). There is a Bahima custom of making blood brotherhood by drinking blood mixed with milk (p. 117). The Banyankole (Roscoe, V, p. 32), institute a blood brotherhood by rubbing each other with blood drawn from their navels by an arrow. The body of a king is sewn in cowhide (p. 58). A cow is killed and eaten at the grave of a chief (p. 146).

• 171 A further examination of Roscoe's observations (IV) adds corroborative information. The Bakitara have rain-makers for each district (p. 28). There is a ritual for establishing blood brotherhood (p. 46). At the king's death all fires in the royal enclosure are extinguished; so also are the fires in each royal cow kraal. Fresh fires are made by friction in the new royal enclosure from which fire is distributed to the kraals (p. 47). The Bakitara test two litigants or accused persons by asking each to provide chickens which are made to take poison (p. 70). The death of the king is not announced for some days; he is said to be asleep. A young bull is killed to provide a shroud for the king's body (p. 121). The king's spear and walking stick are kept in the tomb (p. 126). At the death of a king of the Baganda the guardian of the king's sacred fire is strangled. A war leader rubs himself with ashes from the sacred fire in order to increase his strength and courage (Roscoe, II, pp. 103, 349).

The concept of the sacred fire has spread, not only down the east side of Africa and into Angola, but northeastward to the Lotuko-speaking peoples. Here a new fire has to be kindled at the initiation of a member of the drum-house. At puberal initiation ceremonies for boys, the rain-maker creates new fire with twirling sticks, which are never again used, though they are preserved. All fires in the village are extinguished before the new fires are made. The freshly ignited fire is distributed first to drum-houses then to the homes (C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, Sudan Notes and Records, VIII, pp. 12, 15). Fire is kindled on the grave and tended by a relative for 171 thirty days (p. 38).

When the Masai desire rain, a fire of cordia wood is lighted. Into this a medicine-man throws charms, after which several medicine-men dance round the fire and sing (A. C. Hollis, The Masai, p. 348).

Bösch states that the Banyamwezi have a fire-making rite which is symbolic and religious, "mais avant tout il est magique." The new fire is made annually at the brewing of the first beer. New fire is made when epidemics of sickness occur, also at the inauguration of a new chief. The Ovimbundu make and distribute new fire on each of these occasions. The Banyamwezi strangle their decrepit king but do not announce the death. A report stating that the king is sick is issued (Les Banyamwezi, pp. 229–233).

The usages of the cattle-keeping Ovambo (of whom the Vakuanyama of southern Angola are a section) and the Herero, are of paramount importance in this research because of their proximity to the Ovimbundu.

H. Vedder (III, p. 156) has come to the conclusion that the 174 Herero represent the southern extremity of a racial migration from 114 the region of the Great Lakes, and this is the generally accepted view. Vedder states that the Herero came through the south of Angola, crossed the Cunene River, and entered the Kaokoveld (p. 166). From a study of native traditions, philology, and cultural elements, there is reason for supposing that the Ovambo, including the Vakuanyama, extended farther into Angola than they do today; hence contacts with the Ovimbundu were probably frequent, and possibly continuous for a period.

C. H. L. Hahn has recently made an analysis of the traits of Kuanyama culture. His introductory pages give an account of Kalunga, a supreme being whose name is coupled with the name Nangombe. There is here a philological resemblance to words used by the Ovimbundu. *Kalunga* is an Umbundu word meaning "greetings," "sea," "lord," and "death," the meaning varying with the context and accent. *Ongombe* is the Umbundu word for ox, while *Kangombe* is the name of more than one chief of historical importance. The Herero respect a supreme being whom they call Ndjambi Karunga. *Nyambi* is a well-known word in the Congo region, and the Ovimbundu have the word *Njambi*, or *Na-Njambi*, which means "Lord Njambi."

174 114 The Ovambo will not allow the tribal fire of the chief's kraal to burn out because it is the life of the people (Hahn, p. 3). This author writes in the past tense, from which one infers that the customs he describes have declined. Two old men were the keepers of the sacred fire; these guardians were chosen from the circumcised men (p. 17). The fire was never allowed to flare, but only to smolder. No one referred to this fire, nor was anyone allowed to sit near it, cook over it, or warm himself. The whole tribe received the fire from the chief, who originally gave it to the headman for distribution to commoners (p. 18). Hahn remarks that, although these customs are declining, they are still observed by the Vakuanyama, the branch of the Ovambo which is in closest contact with the Ovimbundu.

171 In the same publication (III, p. 68) Vedder says of the Berg Damara that a series of religious ideas centers in the holy fire which burns perpetually on the eastern side of a sacred tree in the middle of each village. At this fire the elders cook their meat, and here the council meeting is held. In order to obtain a seat at the holy fire a young man has to submit to initiation as a hunter on three occasions, at intervals of a year. Children may not play at the holy fire. When hunting becomes unprofitable the Berg Damara move to a new site, and a glowing piece of wood is taken from the sacred fire in order to kindle a new one. This is the practice described in connection with the formation of a new village site by the Ovimbundu. A more detailed account of sacred fire is given by Vedder (II, pp. 23–27).

L. Fourie, another contributor to "Native Tribes of Southwest Africa," shows that the Heikom Bushmen have a sacred fire kindled and owned by the headman, who is the only person who knows how to bring from this fire the properties which induce health and well-being. When making a new settlement the headman kindles the new fire under the sacred tree, and fire from the old camp may not be used. After the headman has dropped herbs into the fire and has lighted his pipe therefrom, his wife takes brands for kindling the fire in her hut. The fire is then distributed from this point among the whole group (p. 87).

The center for religious worship among the Herero is an ash heap in which a weak fire glimmers. This is blown into a blaze only on festive occasions. The fire is always situated between the chief kraal and the house of the principal wife. Round the fire lie horns of cattle which have been slaughtered as an offering (Vedder, III, p. 167). The holy fire is a gift from Mukuru, and extinction of

the fire means disaster for the tribe. If the fire should die out, only 171
the priest as living representative of Mukuru may rekindle it. The relighting is done by means of fire-sticks, which are said to be male and female. A traveler makes sure of the blessing of his ancestors by taking a firebrand from the holy fire with him. When laying the foundation of a new house the builder must obtain a firebrand from the fire of a recognized priest-chief.

To corroborate the information given by Vedder, one may turn to the work of J. Irle (II, pp. 337, 342, 346). The soul, which is not corporeal, is identified with the heart as among the Ovimbundu and in the southwest Congo. The Herero use sandals which they bury with the dead. Probably the Ovimbundu have borrowed the idea of sandals from this southern culture, since there are no sandal-wearing people found on any other side of them. The Herero speak of Ndjambi, and Irle asks, "Who is Ndjambi, with whom they so frequently associated the name Karunga?" They say that Karunga is Ndjambi who sends rain, thunder, and lightning. The Herero say, "Karunga dwells in heaven. He does us only good, therefore we do not fear him and do not sacrifice to him." Holy fire, which is never allowed to go out, is made with fire-sticks in the ancestor house.

A. W. Hoernlé has commented on the use of sacred fire by the Hottentots. *Nau* is a mystic force; for example, an animal killed by lightning is *nau*. As soon as a person becomes *nau*, the fire in his hut is *nau* and must no longer be used for cooking. A fire kindled with the fire-sticks is used for the purification ceremony of a girl who menstruates for the first time. After the ceremony she may resume her milking duties. The Hottentots use the sweat bath as a means of purifying mourners. An article entitled "The Sacred Fire of the Bapedi of the Transvaal," by W. M. Eiselen, adds important data to the notes given here.

All this evidence from east and southwest Africa is in close 174
agreement with personal observations among the Ovimbundu. The contacts of the Ovimbundu with southern Angola are established facts, hence history and geography render the hypothesis of a derivation of culture probable. The Ovimbundu regard cattle as an estimate of weath and social standing. Usually the animals are not killed or milked, but they are used to pay fines, and to make purchases.

In dealing with kingship among the Ovimbundu I note a strong resemblance to customs prevailing near Victoria Nyanza, the

XI. WIDER CULTURE CONTACTS

171 121 When dealing with the immediate culture contacts of the Ovimbundu, the traits found in central Angola were considered in relation to the cultural elements of each of three areas, the Congo basin, Rhodesia, and South West Africa. In this chapter attention is given to some traits that are found, not only among the Ovimbundu and adjacent peoples, but among some other African tribes remote from the present-day location of the Ovimbundu. The Graebnerian school has indeed claimed that some of these widely distributed African traits are Melanesian and Indonesian in origin, a theory which is briefly considered in the latter part of this chapter.

114 The present examination of widely distributed traits is facilitated by referring to each of a number of papers not previously mentioned. For example, E. Torday (IV) has dealt in general with religion and social organization among Bantu tribes. H. Baumann (II) has discussed hoe-culture and matriarchal conditions in Bantu Africa. G. Lindblom (I) has brought together a large body of evidence relating to the distribution of hunting devices. H. Balfour (I, II, III) has outlined the distribution of the friction drum. Hence there exist useful summaries of trait distributions with which cultural factors of the Ovimbundu can be compared.

ANTIQUITY OF CULTURAL TRAITS

171 At the outset we must recognize that the extent of distribution of a trait and its importance in the cultural pattern may be but a treacherous guide to its antiquity. The widespread use and cultivation of tobacco and maize are instances of this kind. The growth and curing of tobacco led to the adoption of this commodity as a medium of exchange which could be conveniently carried by caravans. Exchange of snuff as a form of greeting, also the passing of a communal pipe from hand to hand in the men's house, are instances of social usages which caused a rapid spread of a commodity in a short time (Laufer, Hambly, and Linton, Tobacco and Its Uses in Africa, Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthr. Leaflet 29, 1929).

The use of maize, one of the most important factors in the building and preservation of Umbundu culture, has a wide distribution in Africa, but its introduction is dated only from the sixteenth century. The Portuguese carried on a regular traffic in slaves between Angola and Brazil, and in all probability this resulted in the introduction of manioc, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. Possibly

the yam also was introduced. All these food plants spread with 171
great rapidity, hence the extent of their distribution is not a guide to their antiquity.

THE BLACKSMITH'S CRAFT IN AFRICA

The antiquity of the blacksmith's occupation is not easy to 326
determine, though the usefulness of the craft, and the accessibility 171
of surface-ore in many parts of Africa, might incline one to favor a theory of rapid diffusion. There is an extensive literature dealing with the origin of the blacksmith's craft, which is variously attributed to the Negro, the ancient Egyptians, or to Hamitic invaders.

Diffusion of the craft, and not independent invention in many parts of Africa, is suggested by the continuity of like forms of apparatus; taboos of the same kind connected with the blacksmith; treatment of smiths as a special caste; also their employment of ritual in making furnaces, training apprentices, and consecrating their tools.

Iron objects requiring considerable skill in their manufacture are described by the earliest writers who came in contact with northern Angola, and early observations relating to iron gongs and axes have already been given. This evidence therefore suggests that the Ovimbundu must have had a knowledge of the working of iron when they entered the Benguela Highlands.

The following data from many parts of Africa are adduced to show the relation of the blacksmith's craft among the Ovimbundu to a wider background, of which Umbundu customs form a part. The Ovimbundu have developed ritual aspects of the blacksmith's craft which have already been described, and along with these the following instances should be considered.

Naturally, special local developments occur, but the general attitude of the Ovimbundu toward blacksmiths is in accord with a widely distributed body of African beliefs affecting Bantu, semi-Bantu, Sudanic, and Hamitic-speaking tribes, from which a few instances may be noted.

Among the Kpelle of Liberia a blacksmith receives no pay for work done for a chief, but he is free from military service. The blacksmith is a confidential person for the whole village, and he is conversant with many family secrets (D. Westermann, Die Kpelle, p. 170). Blacksmiths of the Ibo of Nigeria form a strong union which resents intrusion into the secrets of the craft. Blacksmiths are to be found only in certain towns which form halting places on

171 their itinerary (G. T. Basden, Among the Ibos of Nigeria, p. 176).
326 At Ife in a sacred grove I saw objects which were described as the hammer and the anvil of the first blacksmith. Over the anvil stone were the remains of a recently sacrificed dog. Such an offering is made twice a year to Ogun, the patron god of blacksmiths. Among the Masai, blacksmiths are said to be unlucky with cattle, and are therefore not allowed to own them. Smiths have their own language which is not well understood by other people of the tribe (A. C. Hollis, The Masai, p. 331). The Suk say that no woman may see a blacksmith at work because his tools would become heavy in his hand, then he would go mad and die. There is chanting by the blacksmiths during forging and molding (M. W. H. Beech, The Suk, p. 18).

Working in iron is accompanied by many special rites among the Bakitara; in fact, taboos are observed from the time of preparing the charcoal. Smiths belong to the serf class. Among the omens, sneezing is a warning from a ghost indicating that there is danger near and work is therefore discontinued. Offerings are made to the spirit of the hill where ore is dug in order to prevent burial of the diggers (J. Roscoe, IV, p. 218). When a Banyankole smith is making a new hammer he gives a feast at which six goats are killed. This sacredness of the large hammer was emphasized among the Ovimbundu.

Southwest of Lake Bangweolo a small shrine is erected near the smelting furnace, and here a prayer is offered to spirits of former smelters (H. B. Barnes, *J.R.A.I.*, LVI, p. 191). The Ila-speaking people of Rhodesia have a principal blacksmith who is named *munganga wa butale* ("the iron doctor"). Secrets of the craft are preserved by transmission from father to son only. The *munganga* takes charge of the preparation of iron and directs the ceremonies (E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, I, pp. 203–207). E. Torday records that the Bambala have a T-shaped hammer with a pointed handle. "It is practically impossible to obtain a specimen of these hammers since death is the portion of a smith who parts with his tools." (I, p. 406.)

These examples do not reveal the origin of the blacksmith's craft and its ritual, but they explain Umbundu customs as part of a system of ideas which affects the whole continent of Africa south of the Sahara.

BANTU RELIGION AND SOCIAL SYSTEM

171 The spiritual beliefs of the Ovimbundu have already been shown to agree with those of the Congo basin and southwest Africa.

E. Torday's paper, "Dualism in Western Bantu Religion and Social 171
Organization," is an admirable summary of a wide background of Bantu beliefs with which those of the Ovimbundu agree in detail. Torday (VI) has also given a summary of Bantu sexual relations. His summary of prenuptial relationships of boys and girls, the system of polygyny, and domestic arrangements in general, indicates that records made among the Ovimbundu are but a sample of an extensive and homogeneous series of Bantu sex customs.

With regard to the classificatory system of relationships and 171
cross-cousin marriage, sufficient quotations have been given to 601
indicate that the system of the Ovimbundu is one which is paralleled in Rhodesia, the Congo basin, and still more remote regions. To the instances given should be added corroborative examples from J. Roscoe (The Baganda, p. 109), R. S. Rattray (Ashanti, p. 29), and H. A. Stayt (The Bavenda, pp. 172–184). L. H. Buxton and R. S. Rattray have offered a theory to explain the kinship system and cross-cousin marriage in Ashanti (*Jour. African Soc.*, XXIV, p. 83; Religion and Art in Ashanti, p. 318).

In Africa a classificatory system of relationships is particularly characteristic of the Bantu area. The system is Semitic and Hamitic. It is not reported among the Bushmen, but is in vogue among the Nama Hottentots. The wide distribution of a classificatory system, with variations, and its importance in tribal life, suggest antiquity (see Hoernlé, II, and B. Z. Seligman, III).

H. Baumann (I) has prepared maps showing the distribution of 171
customs affecting descent of property in Africa. Investigation among 428
the Ovimbundu proves that their scheme of inheritance of property is part of a more widely distributed system. Baumann (pp. 66, 127) states that in the Kasai valley and the Cabinda Enclave the rights of the mother's brother are expressed in his control of his sister's children. The power of the maternal uncle in Ovimbundu families was reported, and it was stated that he has the right to sell his sister's children for redemption of his debts. Baumann's map further indicates an area in which property descends, not to a wife or children, but to a mother's brother, or to the sons of the deceased man's oldest sister. The social system of the Ovimbundu is definitely a part of this cultural matrix, which extends to the north and northeast of the Ovimbundu but, according to Baumann's record, not to the south of Angola. In the south of Angola among pastoral people a system of succession and inheritance in the male line prevails, and

171 428 this method is characteristic of many pastoral tribes of south and east Africa.

171 611 The Ovimbundu are situated between two systems of reckoning descent, succession, and inheritance; namely, the Negro system of the Congo region, and that of the eastern and southern cattle-keeping people. In view of the culture contacts described in Chapter X, the mixed system of the Ovimbundu is intelligible.

On the one hand the Ovimbundu emphasize the rights of the mother's brother while denying inheritance to a wife and her children, but in royal families the eldest son of the principal wife succeeds to kingship. Among commoners descent is reckoned through both the father and the mother. Therefore the inference is that the [174] Ovimbundu have, by virtue of their position and contacts, made a blending of two distinct social systems, one of which gives succession to office in the male line, while the other gives inheritance in the female line. In their system of burial rites for kings the Ovimbundu follow the usages of the pastoral area.

171 608 Exchange of blood is an Umbundu custom resembling that which occurs widely in Negro Africa. This exchange of blood is the typical Negro form of the blood brotherhood. Another rite is the Hamitic custom of drinking a mixture of blood and milk; this the Ovimbundu do not practise.

171 241 The hoe-cultivation practised by Ovimbundu women is in agreement with Baumann's association of hoe-culture and matriarchal conditions, the latter being indicated by the importance of the mother's brother. These concomitant factors are shown by Baumann (II, p. 292) to be characteristic of a wide area in the Congo basin. To this area may be added the whole of central Angola.

171 567 The factors of slavery among the Ovimbundu are in agreement with all that is known of the treatment of slaves in the Congo area and farther west Africa. Slaves of the Ovimbundu taken in warfare were treated with less consideration than those who passed into slavery to redeem a debt. There was also discrimination in favor of slaves taken in local quarrels among the Ovimbundu themselves. The killing and eating of slaves in north Angola is a custom whose early occurrence has already been noted.

AFRICAN PUBERTY RITES

171 881 Initiation ceremonies for boys and girls are at present well preserved among the Vachokue of eastern Angola; for a period such ceremonies declined among the Ovimbundu, but there is now a

recrudescence. Masks of eastern Angola most closely resemble those 171
of the Bapindi of the southwest Congo, but the general background 881
of these puberty rites is comparable in Angola, parts of the Congo, and in several parts of the forest belt of west Africa from Sierra Leone to Cameroon.

Usually there is seclusion, hardship, training in dances and tribal customs, with ceremonial reappearance and change of name. Evidently the Ovimbundu share the material traits and the psychological background of initiatory rites with a very large number of tribes, which occupy the forest zones of west and central Africa.

G. Lindblom's publication, "The Use of Stilts in Africa and America," helps to explain the occurrence of stilt-walking at the final ceremonies of initiation witnessed at Cangamba. Since stilt-walking in Angola occurs chiefly in the eastern section, perhaps one should link the trait with the stilt-walking in Nyasaland, because there has been continuous communication from Angola to Nyasaland along the Zambezi valley. The stilt-walking of eastern Angola may, however, be a cultural offshoot from the southwest Congo, for according to Lindblom the stilt-walking trait occurs there, and the contacts of eastern Angola with the southwest Congo have been important.

In turning from these factors of social life to traits of a more 174
material kind, there are points of importance to be noted in connection with food supply and industries. A possibility exists that such traits as hunting, use of certain types of musical instruments, basketry, and pottery, will indicate that the Ovimbundu, before their separation, drew some of their fundamental traits from a widely distributed matrix.

HUNTING APPLIANCES OF AFRICA

L. S. B. Leakey (A New Classification of the Bow and Arrow 171
in Africa, *J.R.A.I.*, LVI, pp. 259–294) has dealt with the distribu- 411
tion of bows and arrows. Leakey states that, owing to lack of evidence, he was unable to describe the bows and arrows of Angola. I have therefore illustrated these in detail (Plate XVII, Figs. 1–9).

Some of the arrowheads used by the Ovimbundu resemble those of the Bashilele in the southwest Congo, but on the whole arrowheads used in Angola are of distinctive patterns, and presumably they represent a special local development. The round bow of the Ovimbundu and the Vachokue is like that of the southern Congo, and it is absolutely distinct from the short flat bow used in southern Angola among the Vakuanyama.

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The question of arrow release is important in this connection. R. B. Dixon (The Building of Cultures, p. 131), while discussing evidence from Wissler, Kroeber, and Morse, has plotted a map showing the distribution of types of arrow release in all parts of the world. The Ovimbundu (Plate XXXIX, Fig. 1) use the Mediterranean release, which is shown by Kroeber (Univ. Calif. Pub., XXIII, p. 286) to occur in the southwest Congo region along with the tertiary release. My illustration and Kroeber's description of the Mediterranean release show that the thumb is kept entirely out of the way. The string is engaged by the inner surfaces of the tips of the index and middle fingers. The engaging finger-ends are at right angles to the string.

Young boys often use the primary release when shooting blunt wooden arrows at birds. In this release the butt of the arrow is clasped between the end of the thumb and the middle knuckle of the index finger. Kroeber remarks that the primary release is almost invariably attempted by children and uninstructed novices, which accords with my observations made in Angola. Presumably boys of the Ovimbundu change their method of release from the primary to the Mediterranean when they handle a man's bow and arrows. The Mediterranean release was observed throughout Angola, with the exception of the primary release employed by boys.

G. Lindblom (I, Part I) assists in comparing hunting apparatus of the Ovimbundu with a large number of African forms.

The throwing clubs of the Ovimbundu are definitely like those of the Hottentots, Barotse, and Bushmen (pp. 120–126).

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In Part II of his leaflet Lindblom discusses many kinds of traps. The trap built of heavy poles, which is used for catching lions, leopards, and hyenas, is used all over Negro Africa; there is nothing distinctive in the form and use of the Umbundu pattern. The cane rat trap of conical form is described and its distribution is plotted (pp. 52, 53, 56). Lindblom's map shows a clustering round the mouth of the Congo, also again at Long. 30° E. and Lat. 10° S. The blank for Angola can now be filled. These traps are used in many parts of Angola, notably among the Vasele of the northwest, at Elende, Ngalangi, and Cangamba. The use of this trap in Angola explains its presence among the Vakuanyama. On Lindblom's map the occurrence of the trap in south Angola is isolated from the general African distribution, but use of the trap is really continuous from the Congo estuary through Angola to the Vakuanyama.

171 411 The use of bird-arrows with blunt, wooden knobs was common at Elende, and I collected sharp, barbed, wooden arrows from the Vasele, also from the areas of Kipungo and Mongua. This will assist in extending the information given by Lindblom (pp. 94–98). Lindblom's map (p. 99) indicates that bird-arrows are used round Lake Victoria Nyanza, at the junction of the Kasai and the Congo, and likewise among the Bushongo and the Bayaka. My observation of the distribution of wooden arrows in Angola links up these regions shown by Lindblom with the south of Angola. Perhaps a transcontinental diffusion in a southwesterly direction from Victoria Nyanza may be assumed, for it is unlikely that the diffusion would go counter to the generally accepted line of tribal migration which has been from northeast to southwest.

AFRICAN POTTERY, BASKETS, AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS 171

[323] There is no reason to connect the pottery of the Ovimbundu with that of any particular region. The coiling method is far too widespread and generic to afford evidence of contacts. The Ovimbundu have evolved their own peculiar designs and forms.

[285] In coiled basketry also the Ovimbundu have made special developments from a generic trait known in Egypt before 2000 B.C. Designs and dyes appear to be of local origin. My observation of African basketry does not suggest any particular parent form; moreover, resemblances of design may be misleading, for the nature of the material controls the shapes of the designs to a great extent in coiled basketry.

[532] Wood-carving, on the contrary, links the culture of the Ovimbundu very definitely with that of the southwest Congo. Perhaps the work of Angola is most closely allied with that of the Bakuba, who excel in the carving of figurines, cups, and staffs.

[534] H. Balfour's article (III) on the distribution of the friction drum helps to identify the form used by the Ovimbundu with types of this instrument from other African areas. The type from Elende is like that of Barotseland with which the Ovimbundu caravans were frequently in contact, while the large friction drum from Ngalangi is of the Bayaka pattern. The friction drum is widely used in the southwest Congo among the Bakwese, the Bambala, and the Baluba.

Thus far research has been able to show a large number of cultural traits of the Ovimbundu in relation to immediate culture contacts of the Congo basin, Rhodesia, and South West Africa (chapter X). In addition to this, many traits connected with social

171 organization and artifacts have been described in relation to a wide cultural background in Negro Africa. There remains, however, the more difficult problem of a possible introduction of some of these cultural traits from regions outside the continent of Africa itself.

KULTURKREIS THEORY

174 114 Our investigation is able to account for the occurrence of certain widely distributed traits which the Ovimbundu possess, either in their common form or in some specialized aspect. The broader problem of the possible origin of African traits in Melanesia and Indonesia is one that should not be neglected.

The kulturkreis theory as expounded by Graebner (Methode der Ethnologie, Heidelberg, 1911) has been applied to Africa by B. Ankermann (*Zeitsch. Ethn.*, 1905, pp. 62–90). Frobenius has expressed his views in "Der Ursprung der afrikanischen Kulturen," Leipzig, 1894; "Das unbekannte Afrika," Munich, 1923; and the "Atlas afrikanus," Munich, 1922.

An article of Frobenius (Smithsonian Institution Reports, 1898, pp. 638–647) summarizes the Graebnerian thesis so far as Africa is concerned. Frobenius says that the Malayo-Negritan relationship of African culture is established. Certain cultural elements appear together and are equally distributed. Ethnographical objects illustrative of phases of culture may be examined with a view to fixing their descent, just as we examine the limbs and organs of a living being, and the theory is concerned with morphological considerations in particular.

Frobenius states (p. 639). that he is concerned with studying the genealogical tree of culture forms, and as a first example he chooses wooden drums which are found in the Congo basin and lower Guinea; these drums are said to be of Malayo-Negritan origin. The next example chosen is that of the Malayo-Negritan bow. Wooden shields of Africa with reed covering have related forms in New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. Pile dwellings are found in Dahomey and among the Ambuella; also in New Guinea. Chairs and neck rests used by many Negro tribes are of Oceanic form. There is a Malayo-Negritan affinity of bark fabrics of Africa with the well-known tapa cloth of Oceania (p. 644). The "likeness of anatomical origin, coupled with the outlined area of distribution, is evidence not to be gainsaid" (p. 645). The culture of a fishing community is on all sides characterized by mesh work. In New Guinea the net is used as clothing, and in the whole of west Africa we

XII. CULTURAL PROCESSES

Analysis of African Cultures

The difficulties of making a study of the Ovimbundu in their 172
relation to a general background of African cultures are connected with unsolved problems of archaeology, physical anthropology, linguistic study, and the history of cultural traits.

With the exception of data from Algeria, Egypt, Kenya, and south Africa there is a paucity of archaeological information which might determine the antiquity of past cultures, the relation of these to past and present races, and the routes by which races and cultures traveled. In the regions mentioned systematic excavations are in progress, but for the greater part of Africa archaeologists have no knowledge of the relative antiquity of stone implements found on the surface.

African ethnologists are not consistent in the connotations of terms such as Bantu and Hamitic. The word Bantu primarily refers to a linguistic family of Negroes, but a Bantu Negro culture exists with many divisions, and later we shall see that a somatological concept is associated with the word Bantu. The word Hamitic may describe a linguistic family, a series of physical traits differing from those which characterize the Negro, and a type of pastoral culture in which all the activities and beliefs of tribal life center in the keeping of cattle. The adjective Semitic can also be used to denote a well-defined linguistic family, a type of culture, or somatic traits. But the Semitic problem does not concern us 171
since the Ovimbundu have no traits that could be associated with Semitic culture, either Mohammedan or pre-Koranic; with the possible exception of blood brotherhood by exchange of blood, and the use of a scapegoat (Robertson Smith, Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, p. 296; Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, pp. 57, 61).

The comparative studies of physical anthropologists are retarded 144
by paucity of skeletal material both ancient and modern, while series 114
of measurements on living subjects, especially women, are inadequate in relation to the great size of Africa and the complexity of the problems which arise from comparative study of anatomical data.

Darwin's "Descent of Man" recognized the possibility of man's origin in Africa, and the recent excavations of L. S. B. Leakey in Kenya may finally prove that the oldest remains of *Homo sapiens*

Chokwe.[36] These people are culturally and linguistically differ- 101
ent from the Ovimbundu, whom, however, they have influ- [172
enced, especially in the fields of ritual; the initiation rituals
typical of these people have spread into southern and eastern
Umbundu territory.[37] The Ngangela call the Ovimbundu
'Ovimbali', a name used in Angola for Africans who live with
or imitate whites.[38] I have heard an Otjimbundu use it for the
Kimbundu of northern Angola. The south-western peoples call
the Ovimbundu 'Va-Nano—they of the north',[39] but also
regard the Ovimbundu as being 'civilized'. Very little is known
about the peoples to the north of the Ovimbundu, who are also
different in language and culture and who are said to have more
rituals than the Ovimbundu. These are known collectively by
the Ovimbundu as Olongoya, a term with a rather offensive
meaning. Historically they are important for the Ovimbundu
since it was here that Andrew Battell knew the Jaga hordes, and
Umbundu tradition links a number of the chiefly lines to these
northern peoples. The Umbundu language seems to be gaining
ground in this area.[40]

All the neighbouring peoples seem to be matrilineal, as 171
regards descent, inheritance, and succession, with the exception
of the Hanya and the Nganda, who have (Dr. Childs suggests)
a double-descent kinship system, as traditionally the Ovim-
bundu had. All seem, as far as is known, to have had chiefs,[41]
though there were no kingdoms to equal the power of Bie and
Bailundo in the nineteenth century. Culturally the Ovimbundu 177
seem to have been ready to take over traits from neighbouring
tribes, and the Portuguese, and this particularly in the sphere of
ritual.[42]

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[36] For the Luimbi, see C. W. Scott. 'A Note on the Luimbi of Central Angola', *Africa*, October 1955. For the Chokwe see M. McCulloch, op. cit.

[37] Childs, pp. 115–16.

[38] A trader said that Otjimbali means a domesticated black. Estermann is preparing a study of a Mbali group of southern Angola descended from Kimbundu slaves.

[39] The Nyaneka-Humbi tribes use it for the southern Ovimbundu, the southern Ovimbundu use it for the northern Ovimbundu.

[40] Childs, pp. 186–7; Baumann, op. cit.

[41] Baumann, op. cit. For the installation of chiefs in the Amboim area, see Antonio de Silva Maia, 'Ritos e Ceremonias para a Entronização' in *Mensário Administrativo*, July–August 1953.

[42] Childs, p. 220.

[Op 74-1911]

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kingdoms of the Ovimbundu, though more frequently perhaps 631
it was made against the non-Umbundu peoples.[89] 721

The question of the influence of the trade provides interesting 176
opportunities for comparison. The Ovimbundu were the 178
southernmost of the peoples who in the nineteenth century 439
participated in the trade between the Europeans of the West
African coast and the peoples of the interior.[90] In some ways
the Ovimbundu seem to have been less influenced by it than
were some of the peoples further north. The Ovimbundu did
not develop genuine patterns of urban life as in Dahomey or
Benin.[91]

Three explanations can be offered for the relative failure of 178
associational groups and urban society to develop. Umbundu 182
crafts were much inferior to those found along the coast of the 439
Gulf of Guinea; there was no indigenous weaving industry, for [286]
instance, and the goods which the caravans carried to the
interior were all of European or American origin, cloths, guns,
and rum.[92] For these goods the Ovimbundu were dependent
on the Portuguese settled at the coast or in the Highland and
this meant that the Ovimbundu were far from economic
autonomy. Again the trade had a relatively short time span—
the real boom period lasted only from 1886 to 1900, and earlier
on in the 1840's when the beeswax, ivory, and slave trade was
flourishing, the Ovimbundu had plenty of time for warfare.

It would, however, be a grave mistake to think that trade 177
had only a marginal influence on Umbundu society. It has been 182
suggested that the form of the double-descent system owes its
origin to the necessity to isolate economic relations from other
social fields. In the sphere of ritual, there are some remarkable
copies of European practices—for instance the holding of a [769]
feast in honour of the ancestors at Christmas-time.[93] Many
ritual concepts are related to the explanation of business

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[89] For information on Umbundu warfare see Magyar, pp. 277–80 and Serpa Pinto, pp. 177–9.

[90] See Balandier, *Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire*, Paris, 1955, for a discussion of social change in other areas which had experienced a trade of a similar sort.

[91] For Dahomey see M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey*, New York, 1938. For Benin see R. Bradbury, *The Benin Kingdom* (Ethnographic Survey of Africa), London, 1957.

[92] Childs, p. 206.

[93] Informants.